New Republic

MARCH 7, 1949

ANC

NEXT STEPS IN THE FAIR DEAL

★ A 32-PAGE SPECIAL SECTION WITH THIS ISSUE

THE UNION WELFARE DRIVE

By WILLARD SHELTON

GREECE'S ULTIMATE SOLUTION

By ALEXANDER KENDRICK

5¢

★ NEW REPUBLIC, MARCH 7, 1949, IN TWO PARTS : PART ONE ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the LIBERAL Record They Turned To the *New Republic*

REMEMBER THE "STORY OF THE 80th CONGRESS" IN THE *NEW REPUBLIC* OF SEPTEMBER 27?

It included the voting record of all Congressmen, on more than a dozen crucial measures, to guide citizens in November elections.

Its influence carries on long after ballots are counted. On several occasions, in recent weeks, this special supplement has turned up in the press.

▸ *Commonweal* used it as a yardstick to show that Catholic Congressmen were quite liberal, when it wrote: "*New Republic* in presenting their voting chart of the 80th Congress, listed an honor roll of representatives and senators with perfect liberal voting records. There were 30 representatives on that list and 12 of them were Catholics."

▸ Senator Taft had it on his desk and referred to his record when he attempted to prove to the American press that he was no reactionary.

▸ Syndicated Columnist Stewart Alsop cited the *New Republic* as "that oracle of liberalism" and compared Senator Taft's voting record, as printed in the *New Republic*, with that of other senators. He concluded: "Logically Senator Taft should be right in there with the rest of the liberals rebelling against himself."

▸ The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* used the voting record for somewhat the same purpose when it wrote in an editorial: "Now before choosing between the liberalism of Senators Lodge and Taft, let us consult that oracle of liberalism, the *New Republic*, which has charted the voting records in the last Congress on the basis of what it considers progressive and anti-progressive. One finds that Senators Taft and Lodge have an even score, each having voted for five 'progressive' measures and for 10 'anti-progressive' measures."

As for our readers, who do not find it necessary to prove they are liberals—we hope you will continue to read every issue of the *New Republic* from cover to cover.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

CONTENTS FOR MARCH 7, 1949

SECTION ONE

5 Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Old Friends Part
7 Texas Anti-Lynch Law
7 The Old Grads
7 Progress in Housing
8 Herblock Cartoon
9 Outside America
11 The Union Welfare Issue
14 Greece's Ultimate Solution
17 Thought Control in Turkey
19 The Credit Makers
22 Books
27 Theatre
28 Radio and Television
30 Movies
31 Correspondence
31 Bandwagon

SECTION TWO

A Special Section on:
The Fair Deal's Next Steps

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Willard Shelton, Gus Tyler, J. Raymond Walsh, Harold Wolff

ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman. Helen Fuller (Political Editor)

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Josephine Murray

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

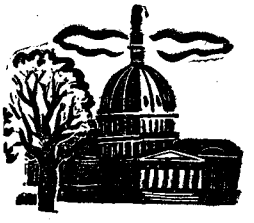
ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Walter F. Grueninger

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

WE HAVE NOW come to the showdown stage in Congress. A few weeks should tell us what we got out of the 1948 election. The situation has grown so ominous that President Truman has already threatened to take to the stump. The one-party press is busily explaining that Truman has no mandate from the voters' revolt against the 80th Congress. Needless to say, the Republicans enthusiastically hail this view.



For the second time in 150 years a major effort is on to curb Senate minority filibusters. Democratic Leader Lucas would like to turn this debate on and off like a faucet so as to pass other bills in the meantime. He may prevail, but it is conceivable the whole Truman program will run into a Senate traffic block, the Taft-Hartley repealer first of all. Republicans are happy, feeling they are splitting the Democrats—which indeed they are.

But there is a paradoxical aspect. Watchful chaperons have noted a coy flirtation between GOP right-wingers and Dixiecrats. Becks and nods and shy oglings are every day evident. Never was a pair more congenial on property rights. But, alas, family tradition separates the romantic twain on civil liberties. Since the filibuster is bound up with them, the situation divides the GOP from its natural ally, as well as splitting the Democrats.

The filibuster climax may be a parliamentary ruling by Presiding Officer Barkley. He can euchre the Southerners, if he wants to, by reversing last year's Vandenberg decision—he can rule that the present Senate cloture has more force than Vandenberg ascribed to it. Barkley assailed the Vandenberg ruling when it was made last year. A reversal would raise such a devil of a row that it is likely the Administration will try to forestall it by making every effort to reach a compromise with the Southerners to let limited reforms through, say anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching legislation.

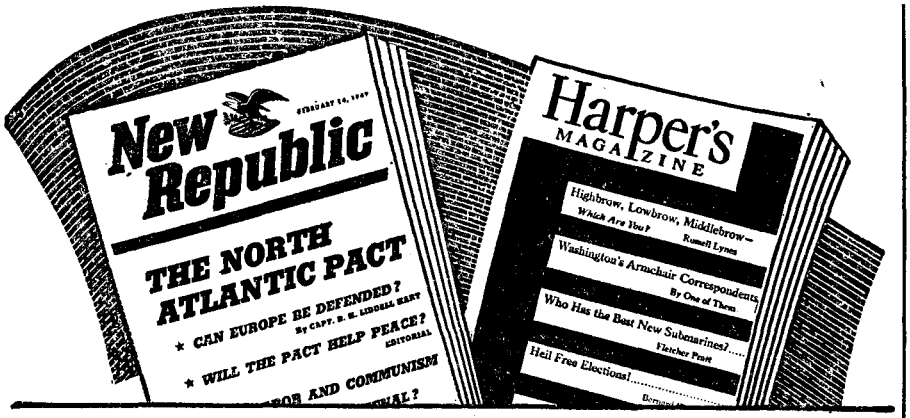
Halfway through a sentence in the Jackson Day dinner speech, applause drowned Truman out. He said, "In fact I may even get on the train . . ." The crowd caught the drift and detonated. The incident pointed up Truman's difficulties in Congress, and also his potential power with the plain people. What struck us was that for the first time Truman didn't try to finish out his sentence in the uproar. Instead, he stopped, grinned composedly, then repeated the entire sentence so it could be heard. A small thing? Maybe; but we believe it goes to show that Our Harry, too, is learning things.

Truman's Jackson Day speech a year ago was a terrible flop. It came at a crucial time. This column reported "the growing despair of the Democrats" and the "giddy decline" of Truman prestige. What a contrast with last week!

Truman was poised and self-assured. The insulting empty table left by Senator Johnston (D, S. C.) in 1948 was filled, though Johnston and a lot of other Dixiecrats were unable to attend "because of previous engagements." And Truman? Well, he has acquired an oratorical trick or two, but in that big, jubilant crowd he was the least changed of all.

Truman brought General Eisenhower back to Washington to work out unification of the armed services—and do it quick. That's what he's now doing. This week's Hoover report calls the National Military Establishment, which ought to be the strongest department of government, "perilously close to the weakest." The simple fact is that the present Army, Navy and Air Force rivalry would endanger us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


New Republic
THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT
★ CAN EUROPE BE DEFENDED?
★ WILL THE PACT HELP PEACE?
Harper's MAGAZINE
Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow—Which Are You?
Washington's Armchair Correspondents
Who Has the Best New Submarines?
Hell Free Elections!

BOTH FOR ONLY $8.50

VALUE $11.00

TWO DISTINGUISHED MAGAZINES, A WEEKLY AND A MONTHLY, FOR LITTLE MORE THAN THE PRICE OF ONE!

The *New Republic,* each week, appeals to citizens eager to keep abreast of significant news, to learn what's behind it, and what the future holds—social, economic, political. Independent, courageous, engagingly written by the foremost liberal journalists and thinkers. Regularly, $6.

Harper's Magazine is a general monthly famous for authoritative analysis and interpretation of contemporary affairs—domestic and foreign; political, social, and cultural—with first-rate fiction, verse and criticism. Regularly, $5.

Now you may subscribe to both at the low rate of only $8.50, provided they are ordered at the same time and payment is sent with your order. Subscriptions may be new or renewal and may be mailed to separate addresses. Foreign postage $2 extra, Canadian postage, $1.

Order today!

NEW REPUBLIC • 40 East 49th Street, • New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter this magazine order:

☐ One year of the *New Republic* and *Harper's Magazine* for $8.50, for which I enclose payment.

☐ One year of the *New Republic* for $6 OR ☐ Two years of the *New Republic* for $10. ☐ I enclose payment of $_____ OR ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

_____ 3/7/49

in a war, and Truman has decided to end it.

Eisenhower is sitting as chairman with the chiefs of staff. If they can't reach agreement, he will advise Secretary Forrestal what decision he personally feels should be made and Truman will take his word. The lobbying and back-biting being done by the services, particularly the Air Force, almost passes belief. There are sincere differences of opinion, too, primarily the relative roles of carrier-based air power v. land-based air power in strategic bombing.

The cash value of "influence" in Washington is going up. This column was among the first to point out the fantastic international intrigue that went into the creation of the new US sphere of influence in Arabian oil through wartime manipulations of the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco). For documentation, see Senator Brewster's report, "Navy Purchases of Middle East Oil" (Senate report 440, part 5, 80th Congress). Now a New York jury has awarded oil man "Jimmie" Moffett $1,150,000 from Aramco for using his Washington influence to bag the vast Saudi Arabian concessions. Influence isn't illegal; it's a salable commodity, but a terribly dangerous one politically.

Notes. Mon Wallgren, picked to head the Security Resources Board, is the typical lightweight crony Truman seems to turn to for key jobs. . . . The Senate should pass the North Atlantic defense pact without much trouble, now that a satisfactory formula for circumventing the Constitution has been worked out. . . . Congratulations to Senator Tobey (R, N.H.) for his one-man exposé in the Textron case of the 10,000 "charitable" foundations which can be used as tax loopholes. . . . Another outrageous loophole again frees all insurance companies from income taxes this year; the US Treasury protests in vain. . . . It's touch-and-go now on the repeal of Taft-Hartley; most likely a compromise substitute will pass.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 120, NUMBER 10, ISSUE 1788, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 7, 1949 **New Republic**

PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, PEOPLE

THE FIRST 50 DAYS of President Truman's first elected term have shown few signs of improvement over the two years of the infamous 80th Congress. And, as the liberal spokesmen at the round-table meeting reported in the supplement accompanying this issue of the *New Republic* point out, a great many very difficult problems for the Administration lie just ahead.

For weeks now liberals who fought hardest for Truman's election have been very low in the mind. Things weren't what they should be on the majority side of Congress. Leadership, especially in the Senate, was weak and vacillating. There was no strong direction from the White House. And any idea that the old-line Southerners, having read the election results, would come to heel was proved to have been fantastic. Enthusiasm for a bill to shut off debate in the Senate by a simple democratic majority developed slowly. The campaign to repeal Taft-Hartley was conducted almost without organization inside the party ranks. Liberal Republicans, necessary to make up a winning majority, were cold-shouldered away from support of Administration housing plans.

It is clear to everyone willing to see that a much better brand of political planning and discipline will be required if the Democratic Party is to deliver on its 1948 platform pledges.

But there are encouraging signs that the first 50 days may not be a true measure of what can be expected from the 81st Congress. There are private indications that the President has awakened to the mounting threats to his program and is prepared to take whatever steps are necessary to assert his leadership with the Congress he carried to power in the last election. His speech at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner said as much.

"We are meeting determined opposition," the President acknowledged. The special-interest lobbies are showering the country with a "one-sided barrage of propaganda" to "twist and misrepresent the measures the people voted for. . . ." In a strained but determined tone, the President went on to promise that "despite their efforts to confuse, we will enact the programs to which we are committed. . . . If we keep the people fully informed, I am confident they will support the Congress and the President. As long as the people understand the issues of the day, the special interests cannot prevail against the general welfare."

Truman warned his opponents that, if he has to, he will make another back-platform stumping tour of the whole country. Perhaps he will initiate a Truman version of the Roosevelt "Fireside Chats," via radio and television. The signs are that he is about ready to dramatize his leadership in the interests of his program.

But before he begins the dramatic, which he certainly should—and soon—there are important organizational details to be attended to in Washington. As the *New Republic* has pointed out before, the present confusion among the Democrats in Congress is not going to be dispelled until a presidential assistant in charge of legislation is appointed, with power to supervise the whole Administration program on Capitol Hill. The authority of the duly elected leaders in the two Houses must, of course, stand unimpaired. But it is likewise necessary to have a central control point to give Speaker Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lucas directions that take into consideration an over-all strategy.

Housing legislation has finally been freed from a dreadful snarl only by direct intervention of the President. As a token of the continuing hand he plans to take in legislation, this was a sound tactic. As a working policy for the future, it is not. The President cannot personally direct the course of every bill in his legislative program any more than he could, with safety, leave the conduct of his congressional campaign entirely in the hands of the Senate and House leaders. He must have a trusted personal deputy who will act for him on the legislative side, foresee possible trouble points, and act without hesitation to avoid them or escape from them.

Before President Truman undertakes a dramatic call to the people for backing, he should certainly attend to this specific problem of operation.

And, in order for his appeal to bring the same kind of popular response that came from his last summer's communion with the nation, the President should also reaffirm his and his party's specific commitments on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the question of civil rights. In his Jackson Day speech, he proudly repeated that "never before has the Democratic Party been more firmly dedicated to a program. . . ." He went on to detail the party stand on labor, on social security, on minimum wages, river-basin development, farm-price support and inflation control. Only civil rights, of the great campaign issues, was omitted by name. There was no false spirit in the address taken as a whole, and there is no suspicion in the minds of the minority-group leaders who supported him in the election that Truman has, in any degree, lessened in enthusiasm for the program he originally proposed.

But the 81st Congress has no such clarity of mind on this question. Confusion over what the Administration may or may not accept in the way of compromise on laws to prevent filibusters and alternative proposals on elimination of poll taxes and lynching is the heart of the trouble on Capitol Hill today. Presumably, Truman's reason for permitting serious doubts about what the Democrats intend to do on civil rights to cloud the congressional air is that by so doing the party may win Southern votes on labor and welfare issues. Even the coolest political calculators find little if any real basis for such hopes.

The reactionary Southern Senators have no doubt that the President intends to go through with the civil-rights program, and they have made a new working alliance with the Republicans on this assumption. Other Southerners, especially those who enjoy a "six year conscience" from being newly reëlected, will think twice before committing themselves irrevocably to the Republocrat coalition when Truman finally calls for a showdown. It would be interesting to see how this younger group of Southern Senators would line up if the choice were to support the party in Congress or be ostracized permanently from its councils and deprived of patronage. The more intelligent of this group have already begun to realize that the days are gone when they were beyond the reach of the voter.

With adroit handling, the Administration might maintain an unequivocal position on civil rights and still split the South's representatives in the Senate and hold a considerable body of Southern votes in line on the major part of the domestic program. By tolerating the current doubts and false impressions, the Administration will gain no votes and may irreparably damage the reputation for honest dealing on this key issue that was won in the last campaign.

Truman should take the people into his confidence again, should tell them all his troubles with the recalcitrants in Congress and with the pressure groups behind them. But to present his case with clean hands, the President should first be sure that he has done everything within his power to remedy the situation. He can create a strong legislative liaison in the White House. And he can put full support behind the move to limit debate in the Senate by majority vote.

A Chief Executive is justified in making continued appeals to the people over the heads of their elected Congress if he has fulfilled his duties of leadership and Congress still has failed to carry out the expressed wishes of the electorate.

THE WEEK

OLD FRIENDS PART

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

For thirty years Anna Louise Strong has been a tireless traveler and fellow traveler. To gather material for her many books she has penetrated remote parts of Asia and nearly always she has written and lectured as an apologist for the Soviet Union.

So her expulsion from the USSR as "a notorious intelligence agent" of the US is mystifying to her old friends and neighbors in Menlo Park, California, near Palo Alto. They consider the Russian charge ridiculous and are trying to figure out what motive impelled the MVD to expel her.

The two likeliest theories revolve around her age and close association with the Chinese Communists. Miss Strong is 63. Her associations with Communists go back to the days when Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Rykov and others of the older revolutionaries were in power. She knew and admired most of them, wrote about them and followed their activities in many parts of the world. Now they are gone. And she, in a sense, belongs to their generation, one which is not looked upon with favor by the rulers of present-day Russia. It would be risky to liquidate a US citizen, so expulsion may be the Soviet way of sending Miss Strong into the capitalist outer darkness, despite her deep admiration for the Soviet system.

The other theory is that her devotion to the Chinese revolution may have been too strong for Moscow stomachs. She told one California writer that her last book on the Chinese Communists was passed with enthusiasm by the censors of the Chinese Communist Army for publication there. She wanted the same book published in Russia, but there the censors ripped the guts out, telling her they were unsuitable for Russian publication. The brand of revolution for the Chinese is apparently different from the Russian variety.

Whichever way it was, Miss Strong,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sympathizer with revolutions, has been given the same needle all old Bolsheviks seem to get.

TEXAS ANTI-LYNCH LAW

AUSTIN (NR correspondent)

The Texas State Legislature may jump the gun on Congress and pass a state version of one of the first planks in President Truman's civil-rights platform. An anti-lynching bill, endorsed by Governor Beauford Jester and the State Democratic Party, is ready for floor action. Introduced by veteran Representative S. J. Isaacks, of El Paso, the bill weathered Communist endorsement and was favorably reported out of committee by a surprising majority of nine to three.

Isaack's bill, defining first-degree lynching as "mob assault" on a person resulting in his death, carries penalties ranging from the death sentence to a minimum penitentiary term of five years. It is encouraging that at least one Southern state has become aware that legislation is necessary to remove the threat of lynching. But until all of the Southern states follow Texas' lead, the need for a stronger federal anti-lynching bill, which would give the federal government the power to investigate and prosecute violators when local authorities fail to do so, is still a "must."

THE OLD GRADS

The big corporations have discovered that the most effective lobbyists in Washington are ex-congressmen. Even retired or defeated, a former congressman has many privileges on Capitol Hill. He can eat in the Senate or House dining rooms, wander into the strictly private cloakrooms, take a chair on the Senate or House floor, do almost everything but vote.

Among the highest-paid lobbyists registered under the Lobby Registration Act this year are five ex-Senators and 12 ex-Representatives. Abuse of floor privileges by former members is one of the primary reasons Senator Harley M. Kilgore (D, W. Va.) has introduced a resolution to investigate the lobby industry and to clarify and strengthen the Lobby Act.

In 1945 Speaker Sam Rayburn tried to curb the lobby activities of ex-Representatives by ruling that attendance on the floor or in the cloakrooms leading to the House Chamber would be limited to ex-members who "are not interested in any claim or directly in any bill" at the time it was being considered for House action. Of course, by the time the bill is up for a vote, the lobbyists' work has been done. The Senate rules put no restrictions on ex-Senators.

This year's crop of special-interest boys includes ex-congressmen who are representing everything from the Fuller Brush Company to the National Patent Council, Inc. Former Senator Felix Hebert (R, R.I.), listed as a spokesman for 10 insurance companies, reports an income of $12,500 a year. Ex-Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D, Mont.) receives a $1,000 monthly allowance from the Craw Company and the Shore Line Oil Company, Las Vegas, Nevada, to fight tidelands-oil legislation, as a sideline to his big-time Washington law practice. Kingsley Taft (R, Ohio), a distant relative of Robert Taft who served only two months in the Senate in 1946, is now a registered lobbyist for the Holstein-Friesian Association of America. Edward R. Burke (D, Nebr.) has a $5,000 annual retainer from the Hawaii Statehood Commission. Former Senator John Danaher (R, Conn.), who drew $25,000 from Revere Copper and Brass, Inc., last session, has added Fuller Brush to his 1949 account.

The most enterprising and highly paid ex-Representative is Wesley E. Disney (D, Okla.), who serves 13 clients, including the Independent Natural Gas Association of America, the Western Oil and Gas Association, American Hotel Association, Penobscot Chemical Fiber Company, the Rudolph Wurlitzer Company of Chicago and the Talc Mining Group. Disney reported (from oil mining and milling and other firms) approximately $44,500 in fees last year.

Representing fertilizer interests, ex-Representative Clifton Woodrum (D, Va.) receives a $36,000 annual salary. Robert Ramspeck (D, Ga.), lobbyist for the scheduled air lines, is paid $25,000 a year as executive vice-president of the Air Transport Association of America. Ex-Representative Fritz Lanham (D, Tex.), who served in Congress from 1919 through 1946, represents the National Patent Council at $6,000 a year; the American Fair Trade Council, Inc., at $4,000 annually; and the Trinity Improvement Association, Inc., at $250 a month.

Lobbying has become a multi-million-dollar industry. The 206 organizations which filed with Congress reported spending a total of $6,191,838 last year. Senator Kilgore, who has made frequent references to the "lobbybound 80th Congress," has warned that the "lobbyists are again mobilizing their forces for an assault on the President's program and the 81st Congress. An investigation must be conducted which will make the public understand the extent and influence of lobbying in Washington." Kilgore heads the Senate Judiciary subcommittee which meets next week to decide whether or not to call a full-scale investigation.

PROGRESS IN HOUSING

The Truman housing program is finally moving. An extension of last year's proposed Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill can be presented for Senate action as soon as the matter of reforming the cloture rules is disposed of. When the White House belatedly assumed control of the situation, order followed without too much trouble. Given a specific directive as to what the Administration wanted done on housing and the promise of all the White House support he needed to get it, Senator John Sparkman (D, Ala.), the chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee on Housing, was able to negotiate a bill acceptable to liberal-minded Republicans as well as Democrats.

As usual, in the case of major legislation, the bill is a compromise. It

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will provide 810,000 new houses by 1955—about halfway between the number proposed by President Truman (1,050,000 in seven years) and the Republican proposal (600,000 in six years). It also calls for a $1.5 billion slum-clearance program, a $262 million rural-housing program, and federal aid for housing research.

Even as it stands, this measure would provide great benefits. But the Administration has made it clear that this is only part one of a much larger housing program. The thousands of middle-income families who are not eligible for public housing under present requirements and who cannot afford the high-cost private houses now being built must have government aid too. Special legislation to provide federal financing for housing for this group is being prepared for introduction to the Senate. Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) has already introduced such a measure in the House, and it is hoped that her middle-income proposal can be incorporated into the basic Senate bill when the latter comes up in the House. In the Upper House, the middle-income measure will be pushed as a separate bill.

SEX TALK, NEW STYLE

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

Whether or not the Kinsey Report had a part in creating it, a saner attitude toward discussions of sex seems to be growing on college campuses. And newspapers, too, are beginning to share it. This was well illustrated when Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, chief author of the famous Report, gave a sex lecture in the men's gymnasium of the University of California recently.

Nine thousand persons packed the gym to the steel girders to hear him. Normally the gym holds 7,000. And that's the most that ever came out to watch the biggest of basketball games.

The crowd started arriving two hours ahead of time. There were no blushes, sniggers or giggles. The audience showed sincere interest.

Dr. Kinsey gave his usual talk, but because of the record crowd it got unusual play in the daily papers. They spread the story across eight columns in some cases, but without any sensational twists or suggestive writing. The press is growing up.

"We'll all get a big bang out of this, Boy"

GOETHE IN THE ROCKIES

DENVER (NR correspondent)

Walter Paepcke, the Maecenas of Aspen, Colorado, is going all out to make this little mountain town the world's cultural center for three weeks of 1949, anyhow.

Those three weeks, June 27-July 17, will see Aspen host to the world bicentennial celebration of the birth of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the great German poet-philosopher. Ostensibly, Paepcke, chairman of Container Corporation, is only one director of an organization actively headed by Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago. Its honorary chairman is Herbert Hoover.

Actually, however, Aspen would be still a forgotten silvermining "ghost town" if it hadn't been for Mr. and Mrs. Paepcke, who fell in love with it on a Colorado visit several years ago and determined on a revival. Their Aspen Development Company bought up most of it and restored it as a swank skiing and winter-sports resort along Sun Valley lines, rather to the disgust of the old-timers.

Goethe himself might be amused at the news that his bicentennial is to be celebrated in a remote Rocky Mountain village set amid evergreen forests more than a mile and a half high, a land that was a howling wilderness in his lifetime.

There is nothing amateurish or provincial about the plans, however, and their consummation will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. Raising at least part of this money is part of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the job of the Goethe Bicentennial Foundation, created especially for the celebration, the organization headed by Messrs. Hutchins and Hoover.

Such notables as José Ortega y Gasset and Thornton Wilder will head the "Goethe convocation" that will reëxamine Goethe's life and philosophy to seek its lessons for the twentieth century.

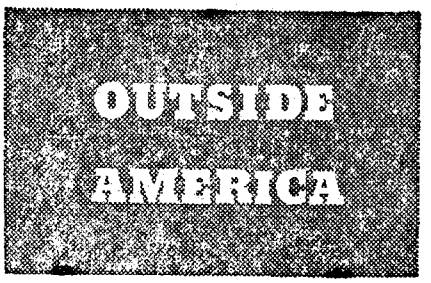
There will be a music festival coincidentally. The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra will play, and soloists will include Artur Rubinstein, Dorothy Maynor and Erica Morini.

GET-RICH-QUICK PYRAMIDS

America is back to normal. If anyone doubts it, he need only look at the "Pyramid Clubs" which last week were operating all over the country. Apparently starting in Southern California, they had already reached the Atlantic, leaving in their path jammed-up telephone facilities, a fearful consumption of coffee and doughnuts, and bewildered and unhappy municipal authorities.

These clubs are a variation on the chain-letter racket of the thirties. An individual invites two friends to a coffee-and-doughnut party. Each guest brings in two more friends, at a subsequent meeting, and so on. Every new member pays in $1 or $2 and his name goes at the foot of a list of twelve. On successive evenings he advances, theoretically, from twelfth place to first. Then he takes the collective "dues" that have been paid by the members of his particular Pyramid, and drops out. If the chain has been completed, he should have several thousand dollars. Usually, it is incomplete.

The chain-letter tricks of a decade ago got into trouble with the postal authorities; but the Pyramid Clubs avoid this by not using the mails. By last weekend it seemed probable that in most places the plan would be allowed to burn itself out until the people once again learned the grim fact that we can't all pull ourselves up simultaneously by our economic bootstraps.



The Soviet peace offensive has entered a new phase—a war of words that alternates between high seriousness and high comedy; and though the peace that's being peddled (or simply prattled) passeth all understanding, there's no doubt that the words are intended to be offensive.

In Moscow, Soviet soldiers spoke seriously. Marshal Leonid A. Govorov said the Red Army has "new arms much superior to the best foreign models," General Sergei Matveyevich Shtemenko said Bolshevik military science is superior to Western military tactics, and Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin told his soldiers they must "maintain constant combat preparedness on a high level" because of the United States Government's "policy of aggression."

But also in Moscow a woman named Annabella Bucar, who used to be an American herself, was touted as the author of *The Truth About American Diplomats*, a book which from newspaper accounts seems about as convincing as a low-grade Hollywood espionage thriller.

In Paris the Kremlin's top man, Maurice Thorez, also spoke seriously. He said that if France "should be dragged against its will into a war against the Soviet Union and if the Soviet army . . . should be brought to pursue the aggressors onto our soil, could the workers and people of France have any other attitude toward the Soviet army than has been that of the peoples of Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia?"

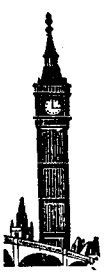
But also in Paris Dr. José Aboulker added a Hollywood touch to the Kravchenko trial. He said the author of *I Chose Freedom* is "no longer a free man. He is a puppet. He didn't choose to come to France. He was sent as part of the Marshall Plan."

In Rome, the Politburo's chief spokesman, Palmiro Togliatti, accused Pope Pius of trying to organize a "holy alliance" against the Communist countries. And the title of his article in *Vie Nuove*—"God and the Atlantic Pact"—suggests the common origin both of the high seriousness and of the high comedy. The Soviet war of words is also a war of nervousness. Apparently the North Atlantic pact is worrying the men in the Kremlin; and they're trying to make the Western peoples think they're dangerously tough while at the same time making their own people think the Westerners are laughably stupid.

★

When Britain ruled the waves, the bright young diplomats who went out from the Foreign Office to the capitals of lesser lands beyond the pale of the West End's niceties were veritable devils at garden parties, weddings and funerals. No one needed to tell these polished creatures in striped pants and black homburgs how to be brilliant with bores or wise about the love lives of the best people: they knew by instinct.

But alas, His Britannic Majesty's young pups aren't quite as doggy as they once were, and the Foreign Office has had to provide Emily Post rules for its new boys in the form of a manual, "Guidance on Foreign Usages and Ceremony for a Member of His Majesty's Foreign Service on His First Appointment to a Post Abroad." For the typical young man, given the not so typical name of John Bull, an ideal "My Day" would be: "He lunches with a banker, takes cocktails in one of the other legations, dines with a deputy, spends the evening in the house of a hostess who is a close friend of the Finance Minister."



One of John Bull's "chief duties

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will be to be affable to bores" who stand around "in gloomy silence" at all official parties. Another will be to attend funerals, because "in some countries, public funerals are unrivalled as occasions on which to cultivate acquaintances." A third is to turn up at least five minutes early for dinner at the Ambassador's—"Mr. Bull should speak to the Ambassadress at least once in the evening and must not therefore spend an entire hour lost in the garden with some girl." On the other hand, he should spend rather a good deal of time with those women who "make a point of knowing all the capital's latest love affairs."

Thus equipped (there's lots more of the same), John Bull will undoubtedly be able to transform the cold into the tepid war, and soon the British Lion again will be roaring triumphantly above the tea cups and cocktail glasses. Rule Britannia!

★

On Portugal's islands in the South Atlantic even more than in Portugal itself poverty is the common lot of a large part of the population. (See "Outside America," February 21.) In recent years there has been famine, and the government has been forced to provide food doles. At Praia, the capital of the Cape Verde Islands off the northwest coast of Africa, thousands of starving men, women and children have gathered regularly to await this dole in a public square enclosed by an old 20-foot-high wall. Last week a section of the wall fell; 232 persons were killed, 47 injured. The New York *Herald Tribune* commented:

> To present-day Americans [this] will be a strange tragedy in a strange land. But for earlier generations in this country, the name of the Cape Verde Islands was very familiar. . . . Sailing vessels bound to the Indies often paused at Praia . . . whaling ships recruited crews . . . and Praia was for years the headquarters of the American Navy's African squadron, maintained to put down the slave trade . . . but the Islands are [now] more isolated than they were a century ago from the main currents of world trade and world history. . . . The shifting pattern of commerce . . . was dramatized in Praia by crumbling masonry and a weary, patient queue of unhappy islanders.

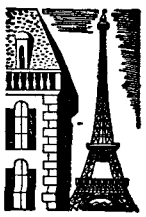
An interesting bit of historical evocation, to be sure. But what is really most strange about this tragedy is that for present-day Americans (the editorial writers of the *Herald Tribune* included) the physically lovely but humanly ghastly Cape Verde Islands seem to be isolated from the main currents of ordinary public information. The fact is that these islands have been used for some years (and are still being used) as prisons for political opponents of dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. A slave trade still goes on. The unhappy Islanders include thousands of Portuguese sent into famine-ridden exile because they dared speak up against Salazar or strike for living wages against his *Estado Novo*.

And if ships of the US Navy don't call any longer at the Cape Verdes, there are Portuguese islands in the Atlantic where they still *do* call—the Azores, for example. Their facilities were very valuable to the US fleet during the war, and a large US airfield may have a certain bearing on future "currents . . . of world history." Perhaps that's why Salazar's name wasn't mentioned in the stories and editorials of the tragedy at Praia.

★

In the hungry France of the postwar years the farmers have been in the driver's seat of domestic politics. Since the French farmers are hide-bound conservatives, France has made little progress toward the long-term economic and social reforms she needs in order to make her democracy both modern and dependable. The farmers have paid out little of their money in taxes; they have profited by high and generally rising food prices, and kept their gains in gold rather than in currency. Naturally gold prices remained high, and the franc low. None of the efforts made by the government to get the farmers to give up their huge hoardings succeeded.

On February 7, American commodity prices broke—the worst break since last August. Almost overnight the French gold market also broke. "The form the market took, with the more popular gold coins leading the decline," said Stephen White of the New York *Herald Tribune*, "suggested that the great hoard of peasant gold was being thrown into the market."



The French farmers, caught short, needed ready cash. Because of the lower prices they were getting for their produce, they began canceling orders for tractors and other agricultural equipment. Then they began selling even more of their gold in a movement which, according to the New York *Times*, reflected "the panicky sentiment" that gold would fall even lower in price.

All this seemed good in terms of domestic French politics. But it wasn't good in the international framework of US economic (and hence political) relations with Western Europe. If the US commodity decline continues, and threatens deflation and a general slump, the US might increase exports to Europe, especially of agricultural products; and these exports might compete with reviving European exports, hampering Western European recovery. An alternative would be for the US to counteract deflation by spending heavily on armaments; and this would strengthen the Soviet argument that the United States is moving toward war for the same economic reasons that produced Hitlerism in Germany.

The panicky selling of gold by reactionary French farmers is something to be watched closely by progressive Americans who prefer butter to guns.

★

In Berlin the US and French military authorities took a poor view of the J. Arthur Rank film version of Dickens' *Oliver Twist*. Their attitude

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had little to do with film criticism; it was entirely a matter of practical, common-sense politics. It seemed to them that the portrayal of Fagin, which came dangerously close to the Goebbels-Streicher caricature of a Jew, would inevitably cause trouble in a city still convalescing from the disease of anti-Semitic racialism. Hence, while awaiting the verdict of the Tripartite Film Committee, they withheld permission to exhibit the film in the US and French sectors.

The British didn't wait. On the contrary, they allowed the film to be shown in a small theatre off the Kurfürstendamm, once the center of the worst Nazi anti-Jewish rioting. Naturally old (and not so old) hatreds flared up. The tiny remnant of Berlin's Jewish population stayed away, but Polish Jews, survivors of Hitler's genocide, staged violent demonstrations. There were clashes with the police, shots were fired, and Germans in uniform once more used clubs on Jewish heads.

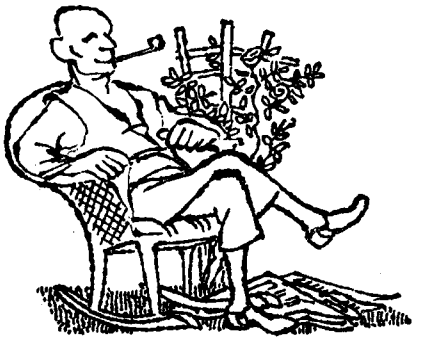
The official explanation given by the British Military Government was that it wasn't its policy "to order that any approved commercial film should not be shown in Berlin. This is a matter for the Germans to decide." It was an explanation that didn't explain why the British had jumped the gun on the tripartite committee, licensed the film themselves and allowed it—a grade-A production—to be given a sneak viewing in a grade-C house. Nor did it clear up why the British had done what the New York *Times* considered comparable to "leaving a bottle of whisky in front of a recent graduate of an alcoholic cure."

Perhaps the British were staging their version of the US film industry's Brotherhood Week—showing how brotherly they felt toward the Americans about Hollywood's competition with British films, and how brotherly they felt toward the Jews after Israel's knotting of the British imperial lion's tail. P. W.

WELFARE IS THE BIG ISSUE

The unions are turning to social security as falling living costs weaken their argument for wage increases

by Willard Shelton



FOR THE FIRST TIME since the war, unions are heading into new contract negotiations without the one sure bargaining point—a rising cost of living—which has helped them to win three successive annual wage rises. Living costs, as measured by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, are now going down. A spotty but unmistakable recession is worrying both management and unions in the textile and clothing industries. For this and other reasons many unions will make welfare funds—previously a so-called fringe issue—a central part of their 1949 programs.

The correct term for these welfare funds is social security—an all-inclusive insurance plan financed by employers, at least partly administered by unions, and safeguarding workers against the inescapable hazards of human existence, including old age, death, sickness, disability, medical care and loss of income.

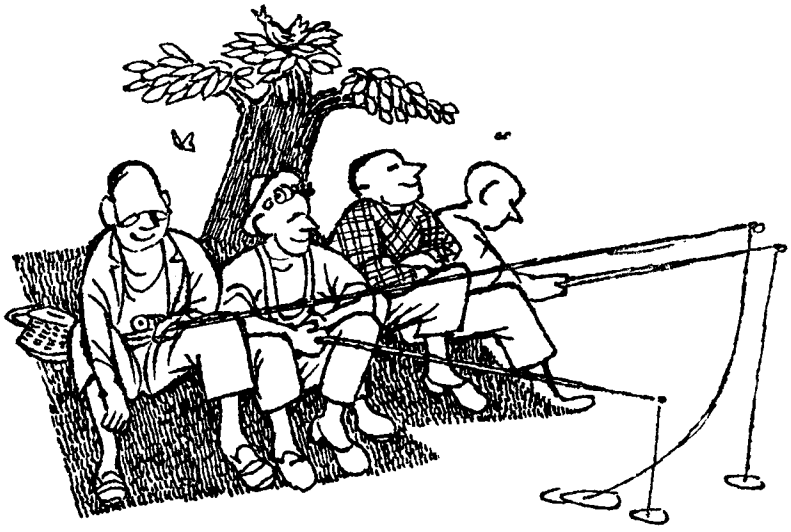
It was social security which John L. Lewis won for 400,000 soft-coal miners last year with his contract providing a $100-million-a-year fund for pensions alone and other millions for hospitalization, death benefits and retraining of injured miners. It is social security which Walter P. Reuther of the United Automobile Workers will seek from the Ford Motor Company in June. It is social security which Philip Murray and the United Steelworkers will demand from steel.

The social security of which unions are speaking has nothing to do with the somewhat sparse protection available to some of our people through the federal government's old-age and survivors' insurance system. Both the AFL and the CIO are strongly backing an expansion of the government's general security program. They want this federal program to cover all workers, instead of only about half of them, and they want the benefits at least doubled from the present average individual old-age pension of $25 a month. The CIO's *Economic Outlook* points out that Representative John Taber of New York, who has consistently attacked government "waste," is himself entitled to a congressional pension of $6,000 a year or more if he should retire. The CIO calls for an over-all program, including medical insurance and a nationalized and liberalized unemployment-compensation system, which might require total payroll taxes of six to six and a half percent and additional sums financed through the general income tax. The AFL, in its Executive Council meeting at Miami, renewed its endorsement of a broadened federal security system which would increase benefits and cover more workers.

But the union drive for security is two-pronged. Many of the powerful groups are not satisfied to wait for "pie in the sky"—a better national social-insurance system when and if Congress gets around to it. The best that can be hoped for from Congress, Reuther wrote after the UAW board meeting last January, was something to cover "basic minimums for all our citizens." The unions want something better than "basic minimums" and they expect to get it by collective bargaining in 1949.

The theory is simple: social pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DRAWINGS BY BERNARDA BRYSON

tection for workers is a proper cost of doing business. Business replaces a worn-out machine through its depreciation charges. It must now take care of worn-out workers. A corporation, said Reuther, no longer has a right to continue a "double standard"—generous pensions for top executives but nothing for workers whose earnings are never large enough to let them save adequately for old age or injury or sickness. Both the National Labor Relations Board and a federal appellate court have ruled that welfare funds are a proper subject for collective bargaining. Fortified by these decisions and spurred by Lewis' example in wresting an unprecedented welfare fund from the coal operators, the unions are gathering statistics and marshaling arguments for the bargaining tables of hundreds of corporations.

The emphasis on union-sponsored social security by no means indicates that unions are ready to give up the ghost on fourth-round wage increases.

From the AFL Executive Council meeting in February came a flat declaration that "substantial" wage rises would be expected by the eight million AFL members. The AFL unions, split into craft units and dealing individually with tens of thousands of employers, often small employers, cannot work out social-security proposals as smoothly as CIO unions, concentrated in the mass-production industries.

Even in the CIO, many unions are not easily accepting industry's argument that, since living costs are dropping, demands for new pay increases should be eliminated. Mike Quill of the Transport Workers backed up his members' strike on Philadelphia transit lines with a jeering announcement that he would not accept a proffered three-cent hourly wage boost which would set a "pattern" for other unions.

The CIO Textile Workers accepted an arbiters' decision denying wage increases, under reopening clauses in contracts, because the textile business was "unsettled." But there was grumbling that profits were still high.

A spokesman for the CIO Steelworkers said that a wage increase was certainly expected this year. The cost of living, he pointed out, "has never been accepted as the only factor in determining wage rates. There must be a progressive march toward better standards of living, and steel is in its most profitable situation in history."

The CIO United Automobile Workers face a wage freeze in General Motors plants, under their contract tying the pay structure partly to living costs. One GM local has asked renegotiation of the contract, again emphasizing the fact that the corporation's profits are ample.

From the union point of view, the wage increases they won in the first three "rounds" were not enough to keep the wolf of higher living costs a respectful distance from the door.

The general pattern of 1946 wage boosts was around 18.5 cents an hour, and to win this raise unions had to strike in the steel, automotive, electrical, packinghouse and other industries. In 1947 the increase ran about 15 cents an hour, if "fringe" benefits are included. Last year the third-round increase varied from nine cents an hour, in the packing industry, to 13 cents an hour in some automotive plants and 12.5 cents an hour in coal, plus Lewis' welfare fund.

Wages are now at their highest level in history, with factory average weekly earnings standing at $55.01 in December, 1948. That is more than double the average weekly earnings of $23.86 in manufacturing industries in 1939, before the war. But unions do not feel that the change is disproportionate.

Corporation profits after taxes in 1948 ran above $20 billion and Stanley H. Ruttenberg, CIO research director, pointed out at a congressional committee hearing that this figure is more than five times as large as average corporation profits, after taxes, in the prewar years 1936-39.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, representing the AFL, told the same committee that despite increases, wages fell steadily behind rising price levels after V-E Day in May, 1945. He charged that the proportion of industry income paid in wages and salaries to workers declined from 65 percent in 1939 to 63 percent in 1946 and 60.8 percent in the first half of 1948. The share going to profits increased, he said, from 29 percent in 1939 to 37 percent in the first half of 1948.

Industry prefers to express its profit figures at present in relation to total sales, rather than invested capital, but the unions insist that profit on capital is still the sound test and that, in relation to invested capital, corporations are making more than twice as much money as in their most prosperous "normal" peacetime years. The late Joseph Padway, long AFL general counsel, was once asked when unions would halt their annual demands for higher wages. His answer was "never." That represents the fixed attitude of almost all union leaders, who feel that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only through union demands for higher pay can the workers get their share of higher production through improved mechanical processes. John L. Lewis is extremely proud of the fact that his United Mine Workers never opposed mechanization of the mines, as British miners once did. Lewis is in favor of mechanization—but he wants to be sure that the miners share in the benefits.

Yet recognition of the declining spiral of living costs is clearly responsible for a noticeable shift in union emphasis toward pension plans. Reuther told his members that the UAW Executive Board recognized that wages "are still a problem and still fall short of what the worker needs." But the slackening of living-cost increases "enables us to turn our attention to other urgent matters that inflationary pressures have hitherto forced into the background." These "other urgent matters" are pensions and similar forms of social security.

The social-security idea was not novel even when Lewis won his first welfare fund in 1946. (He won it, incidentally, not from the coal operators directly but in the Krug-Lewis agreement at a time when Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug was "running" the mines after President Truman had "seized" them.) Lewis pointed out last year, when he successfully consolidated the welfare-fund system, that pensions were paid railroad workers under federal law and that such unions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers had long had limited-insurance systems paid for by employers as a cost of doing business.

When the first paternalistic employer instituted his first group life-insurance plan, the seed of the welfare-fund idea was planted. The major difference is that unions now increasingly insist on treating company-financed social security as a subject in which they have a rightful voice.

Lewis had a remarkably dramatic bargaining point when he fought for the UMW welfare fund. Coal is a bloody industry and, until the welfare fund was established, the injured miner, or the dead miner's widow and orphans, had virtually no protection. A miner, Lewis pointed out, would have to pay two and a half times as much for life insurance as the worker outside the mines. There are paraplegics injured in mine accidents and previously thrown on the slag heaps, who can now be treated and retrained for some other method of livelihood.

United Mine Workers spokesmen look with some complacency on the effort of other union leaders to catch up with Lewis. Great numbers of letters have come to headquarters from rank-and-file officers of local unions, they say, asking for copies of the UMW contract and asking advice on how to negotiate for their own welfare funds. "They look on Lewis as their champion," these officials say. In the competitive struggle of "Big Labor" leaders to hold the loyalty of their followers, such factors count.

Many other unions have given years of thought and preparation to the drive for social security. Two years ago the Ford Motor Company offered the UAW a pension system as an alternative to a wage rise: the workers voted to take the increase instead. A committee of the United Steelworkers has been working for months on pension plans. It is difficult to see how the steel companies, which already pay into a welfare fund for miners employed in the "captive mines," can deny a welfare fund to the Steelworkers this year. A union spokesman hints that the union by no means considers $100-a-month pensions its "maximum" objective. The International Woodworkers of America, charging that the "lumber barons" of the Northwest are "profit-laden," is beginning modestly with demands for hospital, medical and surgical care, sick leave of $40 a week, and an insurance policy covering death or dismemberment.

Some companies generally credited with "enlightened" labor-relations policies have recognized the urgency of the union social-security drive. One such is the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation, which worked out with UAW negotiators last June a system which provides disability benefits, hospitalization and death payments, and payments in lieu of wages during part of any lay-off. The plan, company-financed by a fund created by five-cent an hour payments for every man-hour worked, covers all K-F employees. Union trustees help administer the fund: one major advantage, they say, is the all-inclusive coverage. In the "voluntary" hospitalization and group-insurance plans offered by other automobile companies, the workers most in need of protection sometimes cannot afford to pay even the small contributions required.

In labor's "fourth round" contract drive, there is not likely to be an outbreak of strikes such as that which occurred in 1946. The pattern of labor relations, historically, is that strikes occur immediately after a war and then taper off. It was this pattern, rather than the Taft-Hartley Act which labor wants repealed, that was shown in the decline of strikes in 1947 and 1948. Basically, the social-security drive appears to be one that now may be settled at bargaining tables rather than on picket lines.

Strikes would occur, inevitably, only if industry refused welfare funds and also refused, in lieu of these funds, substantial wage increases. In the viewpoint of union spokesmen, they have performed a good service both for their members and the country in driving wages upward since the war. "The relatively high wage structure," one official says, "is the major factor now standing between the nation and a depression."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREECE'S ULTIMATE SOLUTION

Only by changing the conditions that caused it can the Greeks end the rebellion and give peace a chance

by Alexander Kendrick

ATHENS

THIS HAS BEEN the ninth winter of war for Greece, and it is generally agreed there cannot be a tenth. Some people, especially in insulated Athens, still think the government is certain to win, even though it may turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory. But many other Greeks are beginning to believe that perhaps the two armies may just stop fighting, and that sooner or later there must be a compromise.

Such thoughts are treasonable in the present charged atmosphere of Greece, and officials point to their new government and new commander-in-chief as evidence of an unconditional frame of mind. They also exult over the recent shake-up in the KKE, the Greek Communist Party, as evidence that the rebels—who are never called rebels but only "bandits"—are on the brink of collapse.

The official view does not accord with "Greek realities," to use a phrase that Athens politicians delight in to explain their continued failure to clean up the Greek mess. The realities include the following:

¶ Militarily, the rebels are not getting weaker but stronger. Within six weeks, in the dead of winter, they have been able to make attacks in strength upon such well-separated towns as Karditsa, Naoussa and Karpenision. In the first two places, after inflicting heavy damage and recruiting hundreds of residents, they were not driven out by government forces but marched away in orderly fashion in their own good time. At Karpenision occurred an incident which was never divulged to the Greek people by the new stringent censorship—surrender of the entire garrison of nearly 1,000, with full equipment and three weeks' supply of arms. Indeed, until Karpenision was recaptured, the public was never even told that it had been held by the rebels for 20 days. When King Paul visited the Peloponnesus to inspect the "mopping-up" campaign there, the rebels attacked the town of Argos within an hour after his departure, a fact also not reported in the Greek press.

¶ Despite the Tito-Cominform row, the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB), sitting in Athens, has no evidence that Yugoslavia has ceased aiding the rebels. On the contrary, Yugoslav aid seems to have been stepped up a bit, and in Belgrade the official newspaper, *Borba,* has been printing accounts of activities at the rebel training camp at Bulkes, in northern Yugoslavia.

¶ The undoubted purge in the central committee and politburo of the KKE—for "rightist opportunist deviation," which is obviously to be associated with Titoism and probably with the specific question of Macedonia—has not been shown to concern Markos himself directly, despite all the wishful thinking in the "Kolonaki set" of cabinet ministers and foreign envoys. Markos' release from his party, military and "governmental" duties was unmistakably due to the serious illness which followed his wounding in last summer's Grammos campaign. If he had been liquidated for political nonconformity, there would be no reason for the KKE to conceal it; no other Communist Party has concealed such action.

At the Grammos meeting which made the KKE changes, the first item on the agenda was "Free Greece on the way to victory: Decisive turning-point in view," and the speaker was the head of the politburo, Nicholas Zachariades. This should be taken in conjunction with the rebel radio's New Year's call for "victory in 1949" as indicating not a lessening, but an intensification of rebel military and political warfare this year, and helps explain the incapacitated Markos' release. Markos' successor, Ioannis Ioannides, has been a KKE politburo member for 20 years and directed all Communist underground activity during the German occupation. He is said to be uncompromising in his views and a "bitter-ender" in the civil war.

¶ The events in China have had a tremendous effect on Greek public opinion, especially since the rebel radio followed up the "purge" by announcing a change in tactics from "useless destruction" to the less spectacular but more successful methods of the Chinese Communists.

¶ Conciliation talk has been increasing both inside and outside Greece, following Dr. Herbert Evatt's efforts in that direction through the UN. Although the Greek ex-cabinet ministers who telegraphed their support to Dr. Evatt are officially regarded as "the nine who should be hanged," it can be accurately stated that some members of the new government would much rather be in a peace than in a war cabinet.

These new realities must be considered against the background of continuing economic chaos, rising prices, ebbing morale, tax inequality and wartime profiteering in Greece, which leads to the conclusion that the latest five-party government can be no more effective than the six which have preceded it in the three years since the 1946 elections, and that internal changes much more radical than any envisioned by Greek politicians or their Anglo-American advisers are required for favorable prosecution of the war.

The Greek royalists and their "Liberal" associates have already had to resort to a quasi-authoritarian military regime to avert disaster. The new government, which was "broadened" for window-dressing purposes before the American public and the congressional committees passing on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Greek-aid program, actually became narrower than before, since it merely brought in three more right-wing parties and made the doddering 88-year-old Themistocles Sophoulis the prisoner of four reactionary factions instead of one.

The new generalissimo, Alexander Papagos, is known as the hero of the Albanian war against Italy in 1940-41, but he is better catalogued as King Paul's royal chamberlain and chief of staff to the late dictator, John Metaxas. His first action on taking office was to halt the Liberal Party's retirement of the more extreme royalist officers and to call the latter back to duty. Then he instituted a severe censorship, not only over the publication of honest war news inside Greece, but also over the General Staff communiqués which now suppress news on a grand scale.

The generalissimo has also scrapped the National Defense Council, which represented ultimate civilian supervision of the national war effort, and replaced it with a War Council in which he is the dominant figure. He even sought to bar Allied military and political representatives, who had been members of the Defense Council, and was only brought to heel by loud American and British protest. Whatever the qualifications of the Allied advisers, they at least try to safeguard the growing American and British investment in Greece's civil war, and to keep the rathole as small as possible.

It is interesting that the King has taken to attending meetings of the War Council, although he is not a member, and that it was a royal and somewhat unconstitutional ultimatum, with its threat of an outright Papagos dictatorship, that resulted in the new regime. Many Greeks feel that this is their last parliamentary government, especially now that parliament has obligingly recessed itself and the government is ruling by decree.

There can be no doubt of the deterioration of the military, political and economic situation in Greece since a year ago, when both American Ambassador Henry F. Grady and Prime Minister Sophoulis confidently predicted victory over the rebels in 1948.

Although the Greek armed forces have been increased to more than 200,000 men, as against perhaps 50,000 rebels, the guerrillas have been able to strike at will and the front has become ubiquitous. Home morale has suffered, not only from the attacks on Karditsa, Naoussa and Karpenision, and the increasing number of photographs of "fallen heroes" in the newspapers, but also from the ruthless repression of "suspected elements" in the Peloponnesus, preceding the present military operations there. Thousands of persons were subjected to "preventive" arrest, carried out by local commanders on the advice of security units which are the former private armies of the Right. In some cases the only charge made was failure to vote in the 1946 elections, from which every party Left of Center abstained. Even the Center parties had to protest the arrest of many of their adherents in the Peloponnesus.

When to events like these is added a precarious economic state of affairs, it is not hard to explain the "peace-at-any-price" psychology which is beginning to take hold, in spite of all the loud exhortations of politicians and newspaper editorials.

Prices in Greece are still moving upward, especially food prices, which increase from meal to meal. There are no price controls, but Greeks can thank American intervention for the institution of wage controls, and their inability to get an adequate raise since November, 1947.

One group of Greek promoters took advantage of last year's poor olive crop and cornered the market in olive oil, Greece's prime necessity. They forced the price up from 8,000 to 20,000 drachmae (80 cents to $2) an oke (2.8 pounds), with the result that the International Emergency Food Council is now sending in emergency supplies of soybean oil, at American request. The United States has also granted a new credit for the government purchase of two million okes of oil, to be sold at a loss in an attempt to bring the market price down.

On an even larger scale, the Greek economy suffers from abysmal failure to collect taxes, and also from a large illicit traffic in import licenses. Most Greek shipping has been placed under foreign flags to avoid taxation, while recently, when the government tried to enforce a law making mandatory the keeping of accounts for tax purposes, the Athens Merchants' Association called a strike of its member shopowners.

For those who like astronomical figures, the present Greek budget deficit is one trillion 700 billion drachmae ($170 million) and it has to be covered mainly from American funds originally earmarked for reconstruction.

American advisers and ECA mission members cite all the above facts as proof that they are not interfering in Greece's internal affairs. The truth is, they have been persuaded by Greek politicians that the Greek people would regard economic controls and more state regulation as nothing short of socialism. So, after two years of American aid amounting to more than a billion dollars, we find that, like the Red Queen, it takes all the running we can do to stay in one place.

In some respects, American aid has wrought wonders in Greece. The rebuilding of roads, railways, bridges, canals and harbors has been a major achievement, even though one Naoussa undoes a year's such work. The elevation of public health standards is another brilliant feat; malaria has been virtually exterminated.

But in other matters the American hand has been much more wobbly and unsure. First of all, Greek participation in the European Recovery Program seems just a little premature in a country which is more and more at war each day. Greek private capital refuses to take any risk whatever and prefers to hoard itself in the form of gold sovereigns.

American advisers have also been too easily satisfied with the promise of governmental decentralization, long a crying need in Greece. Actually the new decentralization statute makes the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bureaucratic hand of Athens weightier than ever in local matters. Prefects are to be chosen by the Ministry of Interior from lists proposed by a large board made up of state councillors, the Supreme Court, the Academy, the Lawyers' Association, the Technical Chamber, and the Chamber of Commerce. This set-up nullifies in advance the local elections which the government has pledged.

The ineffectiveness of American policy in Greece has caused a curious metamorphosis in the mentality of people who thought the Truman Doctrine meant that Truman himself, on the proverbial white horse, would lead American troops, tanks, planes and paymasters into Greece. Now it is no longer the United States which is helping Greece fight her fight, but instead Greece is fighting America's fight. There is very little thanks for America here and a great deal of censure. Greek newspapers are filled with criticism of the "lack of American help."

The same clear Hellenic logic has brought a new low in Greek politics, which means it is very low indeed. There is no legal party in Greece today which is Left of Center, and Center itself is hardly the word for a position so far to the Right.

Not only the Communists, but the two Socialist wings, the Agrarians, the Left Republicans and the Progressive Republicans are all classed as dangerous. Mild, scholarly Professor Alexander Svolos, head of the Western-minded, "third force" Socialist Party, has been prevented for four years from leaving Greece to attend international Socialist conferences, and when a British and a Belgian representative of COMISCO came to Athens recently to ask why, they received the absurd answer that he might run off and join Markos.

The parties which, in a perpetual game of musical chairs, have given Greece seven governments since 1946, are the Liberals of Sophoulis, the right-wing Liberal dissidents of Sophocles Venizelos, the Populists of Foreign Minister Constantin Tsaldaris, and the Unionists of Panayotis Kanellopoulos, while the "Democratic Socialists" of George Papandreou have supported them.

In the latest governmental combination, it is the smallest party which paradoxically may become the most important. This is the "New Party" of Spyros Markezinis, a diminutive, energetic 39-year-old lawyer and textile manufacturer who talks a lot like Italy's *Uomo Qualunque.*

Markezinis has drawn up a party program which is a masterpiece of vagueness, plumping for education, industrialization, pensions, tax reform, local elections and "social progress." The party, however, is the leader in the clamor against "Greek socialism," such as price controls. It has also borrowed from de Gaulle to call for a "Rally of the Greek People."

Markezinis is extremely well-connected. He was personal adviser to the late King George and continues to hold that relationship with King Paul. Generalissimo Papagos is regarded as "Markezinis' man."

During the crisis whch produced the present government, Markezinis, like the King, favored a "non-political"—*i.e.*, non-parliamentary—cabinet headed by Papagos, but the word from Washington and London was that such overt action could not be condoned. At the King's request, Markezinis then joined the "all-party" cabinet, obviously as His Majesty's caretaker, as Minister without Portfolio. It is noteworthy that the new party demagogues chose the Labor and National Economy Ministries.

After the last play is made in Greece on a parliamentary basis, many Greeks believe that the King, Papagos and Markezinis will constitute the triumvirate to whom is confided the "ultimate solution."

Putting aside the patent desires of the triumvirate, what sort of solution is possible in Greece?

Most Greeks speak of an "international" solution—either as part of a general settlement between East and West, or through the same sort of specific Big Power agreement as brought the modern Kingdom of Greece into being and has guaranteed it off and on for 117 years. Some other Greeks hope for a miracle, such as an armed attack on Yugoslavia by Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania, based on the Tito-Cominform split, and the consequent end of aid to the Greek rebels. Still others, wearing army uniforms of high rank, see an "international" solution through outright military adventure in Albania, which would not only gain the immediate aim of ending guerrilla warfare but also realize the dream of annexing northern Epirus.

While conceding that Greece's three northern neighbors have acted in anything but neighborly fashion, and that the Greek frontier has been continually violated, there is still no evidence that the rebels are anything but Greeks. I have heard Greeks say, "What else is there for us?" when asked their feelings toward the Andartes, and others who said "After all, they are Greeks too," when bloodthirsty Americans asked why they don't "annihilate" the "bandits."

The point is that many more Communists and rebels have been made in Greece by social injustice than by all the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The men who are rebels today originally fled for their lives, and not primarily for political reasons. The present pattern of repression, exile and civil war is at least 2,500 years old, as witness Thucydides' account of the original Peloponnesian War. Its repetition in Greece today is evidence that anti-Communism alone is a negative, futile and sterile policy.

By the forcible elimination of democratic opposition, the various Greek governments since 1946 (all of which have been the same government) have not only aggrandized what they call Communism, but have made it the sole alternative to support of their own reactionary philosophy.

Probably the only program that could win the war for Greece—and by Greece I don't mean the present Greek government—would first of all entail the restoration of civil liberties, even in military zones. Then would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have to come the restoration of the free trade unions, which were abolished by Metaxas and replaced by Fascist-style corporations still ruled by the same Metaxas-appointed officials. The political parties which are now considered illegal because they boycotted the 1946 elections would similarly have to be restored.

In the economic field, controls would have to be imposed on prices and the prices themselves rolled back to the levels of many months ago. Thousands of state employees, who now constitute one of the world's great inept bureaucracies, could easily be eliminated, and the wages of the others increased. Tax reforms are imperative, since 80 percent of Greek taxation is still of the indirect variety. State enterprise will be necessary to increase Greek industrialization, if private capital won't do it.

There must be modification of the decentralization law to make it mean what it should be, and bona-fide local elections to implement it. A date must also be set for general elections, to replace the present outdated parliament, and an amnesty proclaimed for those who have not committed criminal acts.

Admittedly all these things are difficult to do in the midst of war. Yet they constitute the minimum which would allow the cessation of hostilities and drain the rebel forces both of their physical strength and of their psychological and moral superiority. They would also make possible reconstruction and recovery, and Greece's participation in Europe again.

Thus far the war has been fought with force, repression, executions, mass arrests and deportations, but without political sagacity. It should be plain that the best way to end rebellion is to end the conditions that caused it.

Whether the present government can or will do the necessary things is not important. What is important is that, if they are not done, it is quite possible that in a very few months the main question in Greece will be who will head the capitulation cabinet.

THOUGHT CONTROL IN TURKEY

Murder and prison are weapons used to stifle academic freedom in a land which claims the support of the West

by Mark Gayn

ANKARA

ON A BLEAK DAY in January, Professor Mehmet Aybar arrived here from Istanbul to be jailed for the duration of his trial on the charge of "assailing the moral personage of the President." Thus, another chapter was begun in the story of Turkey's intellectuals—a story that already has been marked this winter by murder, imprisonment, numerous trials and academic persecution.

Aybar is a French-educated professor of International Law at the University of Istanbul. A year ago, with a few friends, he launched a leftist weekly, *Chained Freedom*. After the first issue, the police called on the owner of the printing plant, reminded him of the wrecking of several newspaper plants by rightist students on a riotous day in 1945, and informed him they could not assure him of protection should the students go on another spree. A similar warning was given to other printers. The consequence was that *Chained Freedom* died after the first issue.

Aybar then drafted an open letter to the governor of Istanbul. The right of free speech, he wrote, was being negated by the police failure to protect the printers. This, he declared, could only be regarded as a dereliction of duty by the authorities. When no one in Istanbul would print the letter, Aybar had it set in Ankara as a pamphlet.

Promptly, the police charged Aybar under the catch-all provision of the Press Law: "Creating doubt in the integrity of government functionaries." Tried, Aybar was acquitted. The government has now reworded the charge, and Aybar is to be tried anew. Since political defendants in Turkey cannot be bailed out if their offense entails a penalty exceeding six months, Aybar has to stay in jail. Even if he is acquitted again, he will still have served a prison term.

One of Aybar's collaborators was Sabahattin Ali, a distinguished short-story writer. A German-educated leftist, whose works have been widely translated, Ali won his greatest success with the satirical weekly, *Marko Pasha*. Brilliantly witty and sharply anti-government, the magazine soon outpaced all dailies in circulation. Its quips delighted the populace, made the officials squirm, and brought Ali a succession of trials and jail terms.

Nearly a year ago, on the eve of yet another trial, Ali disappeared. Early in January, his wife finally appealed to the police. Three days later, the front pages across the land carried the police's findings: a smuggler on the Bulgarian border had confessed to the murder of Sabahattin Ali last summer.

In an unprecedented move, the police produced the alleged killer for the press. The gist of his statement was that he was helping Ali to flee to Bulgaria when, "in a surge of patriotism," he murdered the writer. For three days, the press played it straight. Then some of the papers began to admit doubt.

The "Turkish patriot," it now appeared, was actually in the business of smuggling political refugees out of Turkey. He was born in Yugoslavia, was once jailed for wearing a Bulgarian uniform, was accused of collaboration with the Germans, and had peddled narcotics. While a sergeant in the Turkish army, he was caught steal-

Mark Gayn, China-born, is the author of Fight for the Pacific, Journey from the East and the recently published Japan Diary. He was head of the Chicago Sun's Tokyo Bureau in 1945-46 and is now touring the Near East as a free-lance correspondent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAWING BY EUGENE KARLIN

ing arms for resale and was given an unaccountably light sentence. If the smuggler killed Ali for patriotic reasons, the papers asked, why had he remained silent until now? And if he killed Ali for profit, why did he still keep Ali's belongings? And, anyway, was it really the smuggler who killed Ali?

Further, the police said Sabahattin Ali traveled to the border in his truck. The vehicle was well-known to the authorities and, through the system of roadblocks, the police always knew of Ali's whereabouts. If he was traveling to the border, the police were right behind him every mile of the way. Why did they not stop him when he approached the closely guarded frontier belt?

The smuggler may be convicted of the murder. But it is evident now that the conviction will settle nothing, and generations of Turkish intellectuals will speculate on the curiously lucky break that removed the government's most effective critic.

January also saw a resumption of the trial of three Ankara University professors—two of them American-educated—on charges of "failing to educate Turkish youth in the spirit of the Nationalist revolution." A major test of academic freedom, the case has already had a number of grave repercussions. The university's rector, who sided with the professors, was brutally beaten by rightist students. The faculty, which cleared the trio of wrongdoing, was subjected to such pressure by the Ministry of Education that a number of professors had resigned. In order to deprive "seditious" professors of their jobs, the university has suspended such courses as Latin, Turkish folk literature and sociology.

The case has produced some startling evidence. Rightist students have testified that the professors used red pencils in correcting papers; that one of the three had translated the works of "the English Communist Laski"; that another professor had praised "primitive society"; that the three professors had described themselves as Humanists (and isn't that the name of the French Communist daily, *L'Humanité?*); that they advocated sex equality; and that they flunked rightist students.

Aybar, Ali and the professors are of today. Just for the record, there is another case in the files. This is the eleventh year of imprisonment for Nazim Hikmet, this country's greatest living poet, sometimes described as "Turkey's Walt Whitman." Hikmet was sentenced to 22 years in prison for "fomenting a revolt in the army," when his poems were found in the desks of some military cadets. The books have been banned for years, but even today it is a rare intellectual who cannot recite Hikmet's vigorous and sonorous verse on the conquest of Ethiopia, the Spanish Civil War, or the trials of an intellectual. ("Only half my heart is in this prison; the other half is shot each dawn in Greece.") Held in an old jail in Bursa, Hikmet has now developed an actual heart ailment. He is expected to die in prison.

If the year has started badly, the intellectuals fear it will get even worse. In last month's cabinet reshuffle, the Anatolianists—a violent local variant of our Midwestern America Firsters—have come up in force. Among them is Reshat Sirer, who was Inspector of Turkish Students in Nazi Germany, and later, as Education Minister, fought a bitter war on Western liberal ideas. His return to power is an ill omen.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CREDIT MAKERS

A line of fine print in Dun and Bradstreet's Reference Book can mean success or failure for GI's in small business

by James T. Howard

MORE THAN half a million veterans have set themselves up in small business in the United States since war's end. Those who didn't know it in the first place have learned by now that they can't prosper or even survive without credit. For 90 percent of America's business is done on credit, and a good credit rating is a businessman's most precious intangible asset.

Credit ratings don't come automatically, along with a GI loan. They are made by credit-reporting agencies. The biggest of these is Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., which, to most of us, is a mysterious machine that pokes its mechanical nose into other people's business, trying to pry out secrets for the benefit of ruthless creditors.

Dun & Bradstreet, which has been doing business for more than a century, thinks that its job is to mind everybody's business for the benefit of everybody's business; that credit reporting is not an instrument of persecution but the natural product of American enterprise, born of the needs of an expanding industrial civilization.

The small businessman, veteran or otherwise, may well look upon Dun & Bradstreet as his best friend and severest critic. Best evidence that D&B has a heart which beats for its fellow man is the fact that for four years this organization has been giving advice to veterans, warning them of the reefs ahead in small business, teaching them how to steer a course toward the goal of economic security.

To this end, some 200,000 copies of a brochure, "Opportunities in Trade for Service Men," have been distributed, along with self-study questionnaires which enable the ex-GI to analyze his own abilities, resources and potentialities, and arrive at a pretty fair idea of what he can expect before he goes to the bank to negotiate a GI loan.

The D&B pamphlet has served as a primer to many of the 102,000 veterans now in business under GI loans. Like anybody else, these men had to go to banks and prove to bankers that they were qualified for the undertakings they proposed. The banks loaned them a total of $325 million and the government guaranteed repayment of $123 million. Because they were veterans, these new businessmen received a lower interest rate and a longer period to pay back the principal.

Some young men, new in business, are afraid of the credit reporter, the man from Dun & Bradstreet. Although it isn't compulsory, smart businessmen give him the facts and figures that go to make a credit rating. The facts he learns are then boiled down to one line of fine print and a credit rating in *The Reference Book of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.,* a copy of which is at the elbow of every credit manager.

This volume is bigger and heavier than an old-fashioned Bible. It contains 2,750,000 names and ratings tightly packed on 3,500 pages; weighs 22 pounds and is loaned, not sold, to subscribers. Every other month it is replaced with a new book bringing all the credit ratings up to date. The old volumes are turned over to pulp mills and return as cardboard to serve American business in a variety of useful forms.

Dun & Bradstreet—and its forebears—has been standing like a rock in Manhattan for 109 years. Its roots reach into every crossroads in the United States and Canada and extend into foreign countries where made-in-America credit methods are used. It has 160 offices, a staff of 8,000 investigators, supervisors and office workers, as well as 22,000 correspondents gathering and funneling credit information which is reduced to symbols such as AAA1, D2½ or L3½.

There aren't many AAA1's. It is an American truism that every big business was once a little business and D&B has seen thousands of struggling young merchants climb the rating ladder from M (resources $500 or less) to A ($500,000 to $750,000). The AAA1 rating means financial strength of more than $1 million and an A1 credit appraisal.

The men at Dun & Bradstreet use many factors in arriving at their symbols. The letter, for instance, represents financial strength; the numeral, a composite of the financial stability, character and payment record of the individual or firm.

The little businessman should be happy if he finds a place not too far down the alphabet or too far up the series of numerals. A rising young merchant with a shop of his own can take pride in an F2½ and can congratulate himself on making progress if his financial growth and paying habits earn him advancement to E2.

Credit men and commercial travelers get so familiar with the rating technique that they can size up a customer in two glances—one at the man and one at the book. If they want to know more than the symbol tells them, subscribers can always call on Dun & Bradstreet for a copy of the Report, a tightly written, factual document, summarizing and digesting all the facts that reporters, investigators and friends of Dun & Bradstreet have gathered.

Dun & Bradstreet dossiers are top-secret and its reports are issued only to subscribers, with a warning that they are in strict confidence and not to be used for any purpose other than "determining the advisability of granting credit or insurance." Subscribers pay from $250 a year up, and the minimum package is two Reference Books and 100 Reports. Big houses also get handy pocket-size state and metropolitan editions of *The Reference*

James T. Howard, former reporter and staff member of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, New York World-Telegram and New York Star, is now free-lancing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book which are put out in 56 varieties for the convenience of traveling salesmen.

The Mercantile Agency—another predecessor now merged into Dun & Bradstreet—had a struggle with the laws of the land before there was either a Dun or a Bradstreet. Benjamin Douglass, who bought out the founder, got sued in 1851 by two Ohio merchants, who charged invasion of privacy, among other things. Douglass spent 20 days in Eldridge Street Jail for refusing to divulge his sources and emerged a hero in the business world.

It was not until 1870, however, that the Supreme Court upheld Douglass and his right to mind other people's business for the benefit of other people's business. Dun & Bradstreet hasn't had any serious trouble on that score since. It has the legal right to gather information for its subscribers and it doesn't give out information except to subscribers who want it for the legitimate purposes of trade.

Credit affects every one of us. When you buy a suit of clothes, whether you pay cash or charge it, you are involved. The dealer got the suit on credit and the maker used credit to get the material. Even the original wool-gatherer used credit to finance his flock to the shearing season. Today, the wheels of trade would grind to a slow pace indeed were they shifted abruptly to a hard-cash basis.

While Dun & Bradstreet won't allow outsiders to examine its secret file, here is an accurate facsimile of one of its reports. It concerns a nonexistent Reliable Pharmacy, owned by a fictional Martin Davis, doing business on a nonexistent street in New Rochelle. Davis, 40, married, is an F2½. Born in Russia, he was graduated from the Fordham College of Pharmacy in 1931, worked as a pharmacist in two local stores until May, 1934, when he bought the Reliable for $8,000, putting up $3,500 cash and a chattel mortgage which he was able to pay off in 1938.

The report adds that the Reliable Pharmacy occupies a rented store 20 x 45 feet in a two-story building in the outskirts of the main shopping district two blocks from the railroad station, on a street leading to a better-class residential district. Three doctors maintain offices above and the double window displays are attractive.

There is a brief financial statement, putting Reliable's net worth at $15,165. Martin runs the place himself with some help from his wife and employs a full-time delivery boy and a part-time cosmetician. "Prescription volume is above average and is still increasing; the trend of earnings is upward," says the report, noting that Martin has invested $1,000 in two new showcases and has contracted for an asphalt tile floor and other new equipment at a cost of $2,000 more.

Credit men agree that a report like this contains all the elements necessary for independent credit judgment by the supplier of goods on credit. The basic elements were the same a century ago when credit reporters with saddlebags rode the circuits, gathering data on pioneer businessmen.

One of these early reports is preserved under glass at D&B's New York office. The microscopic, handwritten script on the faded page reads:

James Samson is a peddler, aged 30; he comes to Albany to buy his goods and then peddles them out along the canal from Albany to Buffalo. He is worth $2,000; he owns a wooden house at Lockport in his own name, his family reside in it; has a wife and three children, two boys and one girl; boys named Henry and Charles, aged four and six years; girl named Margaret, two years old; no judgment out or mortgage on property; drinks two glasses cider brandy, plain, morning and evening—never more; drinks water after each; chews fine cut; never smokes; good teeth generally, has lost a large double tooth on lower jaw, back, second from throat on left side, has a scar an inch long on his left leg knee-pan; cause, cut himself with a hatchet when only three years old; can be found when in Albany at Pete Mason's, 82 State Street, purchases principally jewelry and fancy articles; belongs to the Shoe.

Styles change but Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., still wants and gets much the same sort of personality stuff from its reporters. An excerpt from a correspondent's report, replying to an inquiry about a trucker in a small Western community, reads:

Have given you about all there is to know about this fellow. Is single and has good sense about getting married in that he won't try it 'til he is at least out of debt and has a home better than the girl is living in at the present time; however, he hasn't any girl and is never bothered along that line. Started in with an old clinker of a truck and has built up a very nice business in the trucking line. Has had some hard luck with his old machine at times but always forged ahead.

Has a nice truck at this time and although he tells everyone it is a race between him and "Mr. Green" (bank officer) to see who will have it in a year from now, he is doing right well and getting ahead all the time. Of course this is a little country town and quiet at times, but John Smith has done mighty well and has the respect of all who know him.

Although credit reporting remains the mainstay of Dun & Bradstreet's business, its activities have broadened into many related fields. There is a credit-clearing division serving the apparel trades, which requires on-the-spot telephone reports; there is an insurance division serving underwriters; a municipal-bond department which keeps watch over the credit of borrowing communities; a foreign division; a monthly magazine, *Dun's Review*; a marketing and research service; and a collection service.

In these fast-moving times, a six-month-old Dun & Bradstreet *Reference Book* isn't good for much except ballast in a high wind. Each day brings about 7,500 changes in the text, including 2,200 new names, 2,000 deletions, 2,200 changes in ratings, and miscellaneous changes in trade listings.

Dun & Bradstreet experts have made some elaborate studies of the deletions, seeking the reasons why some businesses prosper and others wither away or go broke. The major answers are three; inexperience; bad judgment; lack of capital.

And what are the factors for success? They are four: personal aptitude or merchant instinct; selection of location; knowledge of line of business; working capital.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A D&B analyst, pursuing a busman's hobby, kept a ten-year record of a ten-unit business block in a secondary business neighborhood and came up with these observations:

During that period, 37 business enterprises rented space in this block. Two concerns survived the entire decade; one a Chinese laundry operator who trimmed his costs to a few cents a day; the second, a five and dime store operator who wasn't satisfied to sit idle, but went out on a door to door basis, and acted as a purchasing agent for the neighborhood, handling everything from fur coats to furniture.

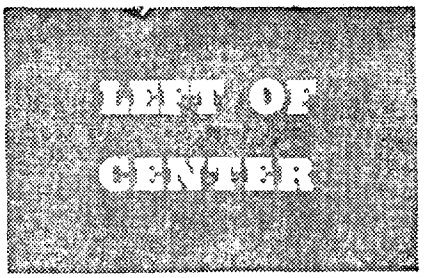
A baker lasted nine years, adding considerable revenue from his artistic ability in making cakes for weddings and birthdays. He sold out at a profit to a relative who was suspected of having un-American sympathies and who liquidated the business within a year.

A jovial butcher did a fine business for eight years. When he died, his widow hired a slovenly manager and sat in the cashier's cage, gossiping freely about customers in the neighborhood. She closed up in six months with the manager blaming the widow's tongue and the widow berating the butcher's dirty apron.

The basic urges that drive people into business, according to Dun & Bradstreet, are two—that merchant instinct which is in the blood of most successful retailers, and the desire for independence of thought, action and decision.

People with these urges either go into business or spend their lives working for somebody else, daydreaming unhappily about a little business that is all their own. If the urge is strong enough, they go into business in spite of themselves, and work harder than they'd dream of working for anybody else. They are happy even if they only manage to make a bare living. They take the plunge regardless of whether times are good or bad, and risk their savings when the outlook is none too promising.

The Dun & Bradstreet *Reference Book* is the best witness to this fact. During the very depth of the Great Depression in 1933, *The Reference Book* reported 345,000 new enterprises. How many of them prospered is another story.



AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY is now officially dissolved and has reformed itself along the lines carefully delineated by the Communist Party at its convention more than six months ago. That kind of development was predicted in this column four months ago on the basis of avowed Communist Party policy. On February 18 the *Daily Worker* announced that:

In conformity with the objectives set forth in the referendum, the majority of the former AYD clubs continue to function and are developing varied organizational forms for Marxist education. They are prepared to contribute effectively in the coming few months toward the building of a new national organization that will lead young people in a spirit of devotion to the working class, and democratic heritage of our country, and the goal of Socialism. In this way, the former members of AYD will . . . continue in the front ranks . . . of America's youth, fighting for peace and democracy against Wall Street's threat of war, fascism, and economic crises.

Curiously enough, the Communists denied until the very last minute that they actually controlled the AYD.

The *Daily Worker*, incidentally, is expanding and will start a Harlem edition early in March with Abner Berry as editor.

The AFL has no intention of supplementing the salaries of "poor but honest" state legislators, despite an AP report to the contrary. Nevertheless, trade unions do believe that salaries of state legislators are so low that no honest worker or farmer can hold the post. To change the situation the unions are preparing a campaign to demand the publicizing of legislators' supplementary incomes and raising the pay of state legislators so that workers may hold public office.

Repeal of little Taft-Hartley Acts in the state legislatures seems to be moving ahead at a greater speed than the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act itself. The Ohio CIO hails the 71-61 vote by which the anti-labor Ferguson law was repealed. Three Republicans voted with the solid Democratic majority. The AFL hails the 76-22 vote by which the Indiana compulsory-arbitration labor law was repealed in the state house of representatives.

August Scholle, head of Michigan's CIO, denies that the PAC has taken over the Democratic Party. He said: "What has developed in the Democratic Party is a healthy alliance between delegates who are members of the CIO, the AFL, the telephone workers' unions, the ADA and other liberal groups."

McCallister for McCulloch is the substitute at Roosevelt College's Labor Division. Frank McCulloch, former head, is now on the staff of Senator Paul H. Douglas. Frank McCallister, former director of the Georgia Workers' Education Service, transferred to Chicago. The college itself boasts one of the most liberal boards of trustees in America, headed by Harold L. Ickes. Members of the Advisory Board include Philip Murray, Eleanor Roosevelt, Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann.

Labor men continue to move into ECA. Daniel T. Cruse, president of Local 794, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL), in Chicago, joins the staff, together with James Killen, vice-president of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers (AFL).

At the UAW Educational Conference, Dr. Robert Lynd described new methods for propagandizing workers with their employers' ideas. One UAW delegate, upon listening to Lynd's description, nudged his neighbor and said, "I've already been taken in. I'm working on a committee like that in my town."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE FIVE YEAR PLANS

by Abram Bergson

THIS DETAILED SURVEY of Soviet economic development since the Revolution is by a leading British scholar on Russia. Almost inevitably, in view of the subject, Dobb is often controversial, but the book is an outstanding piece of scholarship and probably the best study of its kind available.

Dobb ranges over a great variety of topics, all bearing on one or another of two broad themes: the transformation of Russia, at an unprecedented tempo, from one of the most backward to one of the most advanced industrial countries of Europe, and the creation of a new type of economic system.

SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1917, by Maurice Dobb (International Publishers; $4).

It may not be generally realized just how rapid the industrial transformation was. Practically all of it took place within the period of little more than a dozen years beginning in 1928 with the First Five Year Plan and ending with Hitler's attack. Economically, the years prior to 1928 were characterized first by a nearly disastrous decline (due mainly to the Revolution, civil war, Allied blockade, and finally the severe drought of 1921) and then by recovery. Thus, in 1928, on the eve of the First Five Year Plan, the Russians were producing little more steel, coal and oil than they had produced under the Czar in 1913, which is to say very little. In 1928, the production of steel was four million tons; of coal, 36 million tons; and of oil, 12 million tons. In 1940 the corresponding figures were 18, 166 and 31 million tons.

Dobb speculates that the Soviet experience may become the classic type for the future industrialization of the backward countries of Asia. In view of recent developments in China the suggestion seems in order, but one wonders to what extent such countries could match the Soviet achievements.

The spectacular records in the USSR were practically all in the sphere of heavy industry. Increase of consumers' goods was strictly limited. In fact, consumption standards declined in the First Five Year Plan; they rose under the Second, however, and there is evidence that in many lines per-capita consumption in 1937 was above that of 1928.

Dobb does not attempt to bring the calculation up to date. My own impression is that consumption standards in Russia today are probably little above and perhaps below those of 1928, on the eve of the First Five Year Plan. I refer here to material goods only. The provision for education and health care has increased manyfold.

Why such limited gains in consumption? Some commentators point to Soviet inefficiency, others to the emphasis on heavy industries. Possibly there is some truth in the first theory; certainly there is in the second. But a balanced view must also take into account the enormous losses in agriculture, particularly livestock, under the all-out collectivization drive (1929-32), and the even larger losses in capital generally during the war. Up to the war the Russians had not yet fully made good the livestock losses under collectivization; they are only now recovering from the wartime destruction.

(Dobb, by the way, argues that but for the collectivization losses and other unanticipated developments, living standards would have risen rather than declined under the First Five Year Plan. Almost from the outset, the increase in the national product resulting from new investments would have been sufficient not only to finance these investments but also to permit an increase in consumption. This argument seems to me to come perilously close to violating the economic axiom that you can't have your cake and eat it too.)

The detailed story of collectivization, while noting numerous evidences of compulsion, will probably still be criticized as being unduly restrained in this particular. From the data given, for example, one might get the impression that only kulaks who resisted and retaliated were subjected to police measures and deportation from the villages. Numerous accounts by observers indicate that, in practice, the official policy of "liquidating the kulaks as a class" was not nearly so discriminating. Kulaks who did not resist were deported along with those who did; their property

DRAWING BY ELIZABETH OLDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

generally was confiscated regardless.

A similar reservation must be made in regard to the information presented on the Soviet labor laws of 1940. At that time it become a criminal offense for a worker to leave his job without permission of the factory management. Authority was given to the various commissariats to transfer by administrative order skilled workers and technicians from one place of work to another. (It was provided that transferred workers were to suffer no material loss.) Finally, youths of 14 to 17 years were drafted for vocational training and subsequent administrative allocation to industrial jobs.

In commenting on this draconic program, Dobb neglects to mention that it is all still in effect. Under the Fourth Five Year Plan the Russians evidently propose, at least until 1950, to rely on the labor draft as a major source of new recruits for industry. Dobb is no doubt right in pointing to the acute international situation prevailing in 1940 as a factor in the introduction of the labor controls. Possibly the Russians now intend to continue the labor controls only for the duration of the reconstruction period. Yet other emergency measures, such as rationing, have already been abolished, so there is reason to suspect that some or all of the labor controls may acquire a semi-permanent status. Soviet writers speak of the draft law as an established rather than an emergency feature.

A recurring theme of this book is the importance of popular morale and initiative in the USSR, for example: "No mere heady propaganda or iron hand, but only a rare spirit forged in a people by its history, a boundless faith in their own ability to wring achievement from the future, is capable of inspiring men to endure and to strive as the Russian people have done," and again (I am not entirely sure I understand this), "The human factor in the shape of popular morale and initiative has unquestionably played a greater . . . part in the changes which this book has described than it plays in the working of other economic systems." This may all be true. But then again it may not, and more reserve or more evidence would have carried greater persuasion.

Has planning succeeded in the USSR? Regrettably, Dobb does not attempt to discuss in any detail the current criticisms of planning, or to sum up his own views on this question. But his book probably contains as much solid information on Soviet planning as can be found anywhere in one volume. No one seriously interested in the subject, can afford to neglect this book.

Abram Bergson, author of Structure of Soviet Wages, is an associate professor of Economics at Columbia University. He was an American delegate to the Reparations Conference in Moscow, 1945.

BITTER TIGER

WAY OF A FIGHTER, by Claire Lee Chennault (G. P. Putnam's Sons; $4.50).

IN THE PERIOD immediately before and after Pearl Harbor, when China was either standing alone against Japanese aggression or seemed doomed by the collapse of her Occidental allies in the Far East, the name of Claire Lee Chennault was a symbol of defiance and hope for both the Chinese and the American people. As trainer of Chinese combat flyers and late organizer and leader of the famous Flying Tigers, his force of character, gift for personal leadership, skill at aerial guerrilla warfare and genius for air tactics made him a hero in his own country and a notable addition to the great captains of the world.

Now, having deserved well of his fellow countrymen and the people of China, he appears determined to destroy his legend and entangle his character in the nastiest kind of partisan bitterness. In his autobiography, *Way of a Fighter*, he shows himself a spiteful, vindictive, incredibly self-satisfied and insufferably arrogant man, who was always right while everyone else—save Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang—was always wrong. It does not come as disarming candor, but as a matter-of-fact statement when he says "second place had no attraction for me in any line of activity"; he can write, without a tremor, that he had been told "no foreigner since Marco Polo has so endeared himself to the Chinese." He informed Roosevelt, behind the back of his superior officer, General Stilwell: "I am now confident that given full authority as the American military commander in China that [*sic*] I can not only bring about the downfall of Japan but I will make the Chinese lasting friends with the United States."

Everyone was always out of step but Chennault; his hatred and scorn for Stilwell, Marshall, "Hap" Arnold, Stratemeyer and Bissell is expressed every time he mentions them. The one astonishing remark in the book comes when he admits, concerning his opposition to the sending of the 308th Bomb Group to China, "experience proved I was wrong." Although Chennault despises all the American military men who were above him in rank —with the exception of Lieutenant General Wedemeyer, whose virtue it was that he succeeded Stilwell as American commander in China—it is Stilwell to whom he devotes most of his seemingly inexhaustible venom.

It almost appears that the chief purpose of *Way of a Fighter* is not to glorify the career of Chennault but to blacken the character of the dead Stilwell. No one who knew him will deny that "Vinegar Joe" had his grave failings. He, too, was stubborn, bitter, tactless and frequently difficult to get along with. If Chennault was conceivably extreme in his estimate of the value of air power, Stilwell was no doubt excessive in underrating it. In the conflict between the two men—in great part an inevitable clash between strong, intolerant personalities—there was much to be said on Chennault's side.

But the irony of his book is that he is so unfair and unjust to his enemy and is so obviously wrong in a number of his political and personal judgments, where one can check on him, that the non-military observer begins to suspect that Chennault may also be fallible in military matters. It is patently nonsense, for example,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say of Stilwell that he had a "treaty-port" attitude toward the Chinese people, or an Old China Hand mentality, or that he was the friend and ally of the Chinese reactionaries, or that he mocked the fighting qualities of the Chinese. The fact is that Stilwell's understanding love of the Chinese people was one of the chief motives of his political and military conduct. He disliked the Old China Hands because they did not share that love and respect. His hatred for Chiang Kai-shek and his crowd was based on the conviction that they had oppressed, preyed upon and neglected the needs of the masses of their country, and his ambition to train and lead a Chinese army against the Japanese stemmed from a determination to show the world that they were capable of fighting bravely and successfully.

It does seem that what "treaty-port" attitude there was belonged to Chennault, whose intimates were Chiang and his clique. They represented China to him, as the inarticulate masses were China to Stilwell. It is likewise not true that the State Department was represented in the Far East in Stilwell's day by "incompetents" and "scrubs." The young American embassy and consular officials in China during the war were exceptionally progressive, understanding and intelligent; it was only after Stilwell's influence was succeeded by that of Wedemeyer and the incredible Patrick J. Hurley that the quality began to fall.

Nor does Chennault's attitude toward Stilwell's attempt to unite China in fighting the Japanese even bother to be consistent. He speaks glowingly about how, in the early days of the national resistance, "for the first time in modern history China stood united." Yet when Stilwell made a determined and almost successful effort in the summer of 1944 to restore that early unity by bringing about a new agreement between Kuomintang and Communist troops, Chennault says that it was his enemy's "worst political excursion" and that it wrecked, rather than almost saved, "the twin American goals of swift victory in war and creation of a strong, independent Chinese ally to preserve the peace."

Chennault's idea of a "strong, independent Chinese ally" was one dominated by Kuomintang reaction; Stilwell's was a democratic China made up of a coalition of Left, Center and Moderate Right. Chennault believes that even after his death Stilwell was a force for evil; Marshall's mission, with its "incredible folly" of hoping for Chinese unity, stemmed from him. The author of *Way of a Fighter* thinks it would have been fatal to have taken the Chinese Communists "into the existing government headed by the Generalissimo." But even on his terms, a coalition government headed by Chiang might have been preferable to the alternative of a straight Communist government. General Chennault somehow doesn't seem a logical political adviser.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

CLIMATE OF DOOM

THE DRAGON IN THE FOREST, by Richard Plant (Doubleday and Company; $3).

RICHARD PLANT'S novel, his first, tells the story of Willy Halder's boyhood and adolescence in pre-Hitler Germany. Like the author, Willy is a doctor's son, born and brought up in Frankfort on the Main. As a native of Frankfort, I can vouch for the book's respect for reality. Its local color is authentic; important characters appear under their own names, and some of those who do not are easily identifiable. The whole is less a novel than a romanticized autobiography and the fiction it contains does not overshadow the veracity.

Willy's conscious life begins at the end of World War I when, still a child, he stands in a line of despondent people before a food shop. This childhood experience is symptomatic of the years to come; continually, public events interfere with his private life, coloring it and determining its direction. A good-natured, sensitive boy, Willy grows up in a sympathetic middle-class milieu; had he lived at another time he might have developed his gifts for love and friendship, literature and acting without ever getting involved in politics.

As matters stood, he could not help being caught up in the tangle of the Weimar Republic. He is taught a harsh lesson in economics as inflation reaches its height. He joins a troop of the *Wandervogel* ("Hiking Birds") at a moment when this offspring of the idealistic Youth Movement is being infiltrated by nudists, Hitlerites and Black Reichswehr officers. Appalled, he leaves the group, but the evil spirits cling to his heels, steadily gathering momentum. Hal, his friend, is killed by the mass-murderer Haarmann; unemployment grows; marching Storm Troopers become an institution; and at the university the scene is set for clamorous riots and dubious conversions. Toward the end, it is true, the flood seems to recede; and during this breathing spell Willy rejoices in the success of a cabaret, "The Porcupine," of which he is the co-producer. But the mirage dissolves and the Reichstag fire puts an end to everything. Forewarned by an old classmate turned Nazi, Willy and his girl leave for Switzerland never to return.

The story is interesting, even though Plant does not always succeed in penetrating his material. Several characters are pale figures, seen from without if seen at all, and much of the contemporary history seems to have been included only for the record. Yet this mechanical completeness is compensated for by episodes which really cover the ground. Plant tells of things experienced with natural freshness and an acute sense of humanly significant detail. Willy's mother Melanie, a charming mixture of meekness, skepticism and common sense, comes off extremely well. And so does Willy himself; his moving relations with Melanie are one of the high points of the story. When the occasion demands it, Plant switches from introspection to reporting. A convincing example is the account of Willy's hike with Hal through a Germany filled with farmers who are staking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their future on Hitler, desperate fugitives from the Black Reichswehr, and youthful tramps in search of work. The time was 1930; the crisis was in full swing.

This brings me to what I consider Plant's greatest merit: his awareness of something as evasive as the mental climate of those years. He does not try to define it; nor does he play the prophet in retrospect. It arises out of many facts, related unobtrusively, which together convey the impression. A labor-union official is reluctant to attend a protest meeting against one of Willy's teachers; the teacher himself, a sadist, is rehabilitated after being withdrawn from circulation for a while; the Free Students' last-minute attempt to rally the anti-Nazi forces fails because of the intransigence of the Communists, etc. Plant is right to give a prominent place to Farmer Schmitt's story about the man-eating dragon Gunnivor in the forest. This legend is not symbolic. Rather, it incarnates the climate of doom which Plant evokes throughout his book.

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

Siegfried Kracauer, a European editor, is the author of From Caligari to Hitler.

SNAPSHOT HISTORY

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY: VOL. IV, END OF AN ERA. Editor-in-chief, James Truslow Adams (Charles Scribner's Sons; $7.50).

IMMENSE INDUSTRY went into the making of this, the final volume of James Truslow Adams' great project "to tell, primarily by means of *pictures*, the story of the United States from 1492 to 1917." High among the book's merits are the hauls his historical truffle-hunters made as they scoured byways for pictures of early prototypes of inventions, discoveries and mass-production miracles in the final quarter-century of change.

The informed earnestness of the search for photographs apposite to the story of our country from the panic of 1892 to our entry into World War I is indicated by the acknowledgment of special help Adams records for 129 persons, firms, institutions, factories, dignitaries and doctrinaires. The list includes AT&T; Atlanta University; the Best Foods, Inc.; Grace Line; Great Atlantic and Pacific; Home Insurance Company; Lick Observatory; the Long Island Railroad; the New York Curb Exchange; Otis Elevator; Sears, Roebuck; U. S. Steel; the Waldorf-Astoria; and Westinghouse Electric.

The first page contrasts a Democratic marching club's jubilation over Cleveland's election with a group of steel workers tormented by fears of being laid off—the nineties weren't nearly so gay as they have been painted. Hard times are well-pictured, along with Mary Ella Lease and other "calamity howlers" whose predictions proved appallingly true. A host of vanished yesterdays reappear in these occasionally out-of-focus remembrances. At the turn of the century, leisure would seem to have produced more contentment among more people than our faster-paced life now permits. Retailing in those derbied years is pictured as a very personal business, with your social status depending on where you traded.

A little before the twentieth century was born, electric current at reduced cost was available from power stations at newly harnessed Niagara and other points. Commercial applications began being made on a vast scale—Buffalo's street cars ran on current from the Falls transmitted at 10,000 volts. In 1897 the Empire State Express was snapshot when running 64 miles an hour; the next year the Winton automobile was being produced commercially. None the less, rapid-transit magnates felt quite sure "benzine buggies" wouldn't impinge on their revenues to any important extent.

Picturing the differing miens, minds and souls of Bryan, McKinley and Taft seems somewhat beyond the present interpretive capacity of the photographic mode of teaching history by example. It works better with 1907 Goodyear-tire ads and odd shots of Grand Rapids plush elegance. It has the defects of its qualities, however: pictures can communicate little of the difference in spirit and manner of "Terrible Teddy" and Woodrow Wilson.

The photographs are well-selected, the explanatory material cogent, the subject matter tangent to the country's growth and change in those years—excellences for which Adams and his aides should take a bow. But their Opus IV tends, in my opinion, to fall between two stools. As history, though it is wittily sauced and garnished, it doesn't quite satisfy. If the photographs were merely captioned, they might more satisfactorily identify the social, technological and artistic changes. By the same token, if the sentences on the mélanged pages were presented in a continuity, I suspect that the reader would get a better grasp of what the shooting was all about.

In the form presented, neither side of the shield seems to be sufficiently sturdy to sustain interest and quicken understanding. In view of the immense effort that obviously went into the creation of this volume, and of the topical pertinence of most of the photographs, the offsetting effect of text and pictures is regrettable. The book doesn't quite jell.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

George Fort Milton, editorial writer for the Buffalo Evening News, has been writing on American history, biography and politics since 1920. He is now working on a book on the uses of congressional powers.

FICTION PARADE

FROM THE CITY, FROM THE PLOUGH, by Alexander Baron (Ives Washburn, Inc.; $2.75).

A WREATH OF ROSES, by Elizabeth Taylor (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

THE MOMENT OF TRUTH, by Storm Jameson (Macmillan; $2.50).

THE HOLLOW OF THE WAVE, by Edward Newhouse (William Sloane Associates; $3.50).

THE FIRST TITLE listed above is an unusually good war novel, originally published in England last year. It is the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

story of the Fifth Battalion of the Wessex Regiment as it prepared for and participated in the Normandy invasion. To call it a novel, however, is simply to appropriate a convenient term. It resembles more closely a documentary film. Characters, though distinct and convincing, are rendered as types and kept subservient to their situation. The view is panoramic; the plot episodic, all action developing naturally from (and keeping close to) the routine of the battalion. ("The soldier lives a drama; he never has the time to perceive it. His life, even in battle, is a succession of chores.")

When the narrative picks up the battalion, months before invasion, it is still placidly occupied in "moving from one village to another, guarding bridges that no one ever crossed and defending dumps which even the War Office appeared to have forgotten." The most memorable incidents are "legendary deeds in public houses"; men lived like boys at camp, "in utter disregard of the fact that somewhere ahead of them lay battle, murder and sudden death." Then follow the increasing expectancy, the "chaos of activity, rumor and speculation" as spring wears on, leave is canceled, and finally, after exhausting suspense, the battalion embarks on the D-Day invasion of Normandy and inevitable disaster.

Particularly notable is the modesty with which the author submits to his material. But this tact is immediately rewarded by a skill which discovers in that material all the elements necessary for a beautiful and impressive book.

One of the characters in *A Wreath of Roses* accuses another: "You try to enlarge yourself by everything that happens. . . . As if you had *special* feelings." A charge which, substantially, could be made against the book itself. Or against the greater part of it. Two young women spend a summer holiday with a former teacher, now a rather Delphic figure who paints in retirement. These three keep one another up to the mark, substantiating the claim that "the stream of life flows . . . through the unarmed, the emotional, the highly personal." (In marked contrast are the men, either criminally neurotic, fatuous and obtuse, or old-maidish.)

The languid pessimism of their meanderings is summarized by the older woman: "And in the end my heart-beats, my life work, will fade away along with the rest, the Parthenon will go down on its knees like an aged elephant, and the embalmed words of the great will count for no more than" the two young women chattering before bed. (This sentiment is curiously endorsed by the author in a statement for publication: "I feel I am only saying, 'Before we vanished, we were like this.' Throwing, in fact, a wreath of roses into the abyss.")

But among all this is placed a very different, almost separate, story of a summer romance between one of the girls and a young man mysteriously staying in the village. What she doesn't know, and what the reader *does* know, is that he is a prodigious liar, and that their whole relationship is based on a fantastic and gratuitous fable. "He had always told lies, always invented sources of self-pity. If he had an audience he was saved. When he was alone he was afraid." As the girl begins to realize this, and more, "the other world, the world of violence, of people in newspapers, crept round about her, a world she had scarcely believed in." The way the lovable and familiar is revealed as the hideous and sinister is the best thing in the book.

At the beginning of Storm Jameson's novel, England is defeated in the Third World War. The government has fled; invasion is expected momentarily. A handful of people are waiting, huddled on a small airfield at the coast, for the last plane that is to take off for America.

The possible alternatives—whether to remain or to flee—demand what is for each of them the crucial decision. "We have to choose—each of us must choose: Which is his moment? . . . It is the only problem—to recognize one's *own* moment. Not to miss it." This "moment of truth"—of insight and commitment—is in a real sense the *last* minute; that certainly works for dramatic intensity. But the choice projects into a future: "We are not cut off from our own past. It tells us: Do this. But afterwards, when it's done, we have to go on living with what we did." Either way, this choice means a different thing to each person; the dilemma defines the character. The book is presented almost as dramatic dialogue, and its situation is artfully contrived to promote and contain the argument.

The weakness in this novel and interesting device is that the character is too *exclusively* defined by his choice; the choice, in turn, is not demonstrably the logical choice of that character. So that the climax, when it comes, strikes one as arbitrary.

The Hollow of the Wave is the first-person account of a young man on the make in the publishing business. ("What I want right now is to get away from office work and go off on a tramp steamer and Think Things Out.")

In this book (and his world) a character is defined by such minutiæ as "He ran a grey De Soto sedan, aged three and a half." Most of the narrative is taken up by a romance with the boss's wife. She looks like Katharine Hepburn, belongs to the "American aristocracy," and weekends on an 8,000-acre estate up in Dutchess County near the Roosevelt place. There might have been a slight embarrassment here when the narrator describes his reciprocated affection, but it's handled this way: "As her passion mounted, my own levelled off along a plateau of detachment and rose again only towards the very end." But all that comes of this is that the narrator goes off with his mistress' husband to join the regular army and settle philosophically in a camp near Salt Lake City.

Irony has no place in the tone of this book, and as the narrator is entrusted with the delivery of some pretty profound Ideas, I gather we are to give him respect. The publishers do the author the questionable favor of describing this book as his "major work."

JOHN FARRELLY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRE: Footlight Chat No. III

THE REVIEWERS were quick to register their dissatisfaction with Paul Muni's performance in the revival of Sidney Howard's "They Knew What They Wanted." What they failed to note is that Muni is one of our most highly endowed actors. He is strong, vivid, emotionally fluent. In the current revival, he plays too directly for the audience's appreciation, as if his every stroke were prefaced with a "See." What he chooses to show the audience, moreover, is often secondary to the significant aspects of his role. One is doubly troubled because there is both a deficiency in the actor's taste and undeniable power in his attack. Yet I prefer the embarrassment of Muni's riches to the blank simplicity that often passes as "natural" acting.

What Muni needs is a good director. It is true that there aren't many directors in our theatre who might command his respect and be technically equipped to guide him. Still I could name six. Excellence in the modern theatre—where a feeling for the play and production as a whole as well as for individual brilliance are essential—demands a creative director.

Robert Morley in a recent talk has denied this, claiming no more for the director than the role of traffic officer. Many directors are hardly more than that; but to take such men as a norm is like arguing about literature or any other art on the basis of its worst examples. And to emphasize the importance of the director does not diminish that of the actor.

In the Theatre Guild's recent production of "My Name Is Aquilon" everything the actors do is negated by actively talentless direction. The play is a bitter-sweet whimsy about the kind of French youth who, having missed everything pleasant in life, compensates for it by indulging himself in fantasy. Though not a good play, it has a certain point and a manner of airily mischievous improvisation. It has been directed "for laughs," that is, for the effects expected from wisecracks. Charm is dispelled: nothing remains but heavy mechanical effort. Even the sets, which, if they had been designed à la Dufy or Matisse, might have indicated a playful intention, are inexpressively literal. In such a context not only is it impossible for anybody to be good, but nothing can be *right*.

You will observe that the sets in "My Name Is Aquilon" are here judged in terms of direction. Every element in a staged play is part of its direction. The director writes the "score" or "notes" of the theatrical

"A grand human story that moves your heart and brain. Never before have I read this kind of book, in which a 'union guy' emerges into literature to tell his story. It's authentic unionism and Americanism, in the American tradition of political, economic and social democracy." —LEWIS COREY

An everyday American tells of his part in the birth and growth of a great union, the UAW-CIO —an inside story of its battles both with management and with Communists, and its dynamic political and social program. $2.75

UNION GUY

by CLAYTON W. FOUNTAIN
of the UAW-CIO

GRAHAM GREENE

Admirers of THE HEART OF THE MATTER, which made last season memorable, will welcome this collection of Greene's finest short stories, written over the last nineteen years. Here is his concern for the essential tragedy of man, his genius for suspense, his sympathetic treatment of his characters—both saints and sinners. Most of the stories have never before been published here; all reveal Greene's genius as craftsman and storyteller. $2.75

19 Stories

THE VIKING PRESS • At all booksellers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

production; the others play them. One might say that the director is the author of the theatrical production, except for the fact that in the collective art of the theatre no one can be more than a crucial collaborator. In the playing of the director's "notes," each of the collaborators—actors, designer, costumer, etc.—brings something of his own individuality or talent to bear.

In "They Knew What They Wanted" Muni is himself the director—in fact if not in name. But he is not a good director, since he plays his Italian vintner with a kind of story-book colorfulness—even to the make-up and costumes—while the rest of the cast plays with the naturalistic approach of the stock production. The result of this is that some fairly nondescript performances seem more "real" than Muni's, which is chock-full of good things. Impatient with directorial discipline and dependent on his own gifts, Muni helps make nonsense of his production and belies the values of his superior talent.

In my last chat, I pointed out that acting and direction must themselves possess a content. Without an awareness of what the particular content of each individual performance is, there can be no valid theatrical judgment. Let us examine a detail of two performances as a study in comparative content. In "Anne of the Thousand Days," Harrison as Henry VIII looks into his baby's crib only to discover that the child is a girl, not the boy he had prayed for. The same scene was played by Laughton in "The Loves of Henry VIII." Since both are scenes without words, our judgment of them receives no support from the text. In "Anne" what the actor does constitutes information neatly delivered: the king is disappointed and cold. With Laughton, the moment strikes a note of almost animal pathos, and adds a touch to the portrait of a heroically childlike primitiveness which Laughton drew in his Henry.

So true is it that acting has its own content—when it *is* acting—that types, modes, styles and epochs have been set—not alone for the stage but for society at large—by actors. ("They are the brief and abstract chronicles of the time.") Rachel made the French of the 1840's aware of a new attitude toward love through her romantic transformation of Racine's classicism; George M. Cohan for many years typified the American as a shrewdly jaunty optimist; John Drew gave New Yorkers in the late nineties and early twentieth century a fresh sense of their increased urbanity in the Anglo-Continental manner; Pauline Lord introduced to our stage a special feeling for womanhood, akin to that to be found later in the plays of Tennessee Williams.

The art critics tell us we cannot understand painting if we look at pictures in terms of the subjects they depict. Somewhat the same thing is true in the evaluation of acting. Volumes have been written to direct our eyes to what is significant in the graphic arts. For similar training in the appreciation of acting, the first step would be to differentiate among the actor as material, the nature of acting as function (what it is *to act*) and the meaning of acting as interpretation. The discussion of these subjects must wait on future chats.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: Farewell to an Uncle

"UNCLE DON" is off the air, and with his exit an era seems to have come to an end. Twenty-three years ago, when he first came to WOR, the Mutual network of which that station is the New York axis was not yet in existence, Norman Corwin was not yet airborne, and Arch Oboler had not yet planned a spectacular studio suicide as a way out of a format that bored him. Radio was still innocent. Like the puppeteers of today's television, the moppet maestri set out to endear the new medium, and themselves, to a younger generation. They celebrated the birthdays of the kiddies, told tales that would certainly seem corny to today's crop of hopefuls, sang songs, rode as disc jockeys before the term was invented, and made many of today's parents bedevil their mothers into buying unwanted groceries for the box-tops. Now "Don" is silent. In his place, Sundays at 8:30 a.m., WOR presents "Here's Heidy!"

"Heidy" is young, her voice is warm, her stories personalize Baxter the Bus and Foster the Fire-Engine in a manner undoubtedly acceptable to the schoolmarms in the front-line foxholes of progressive education. Cleverly, at times, she brings in a message —say about a Union Army boy who met a little Negro slave and was horrified to discover that his friend was chattel. It is all slick, pedagogically pristine, and probably as good for the kids as spinach was once alleged to be. But the solid flesh of the countless "uncles" who ruled the radio roost from one end of the land to the other is gone. They were not giants, but they were earthy.

The many stories about an "uncle" winding up his show by remarking to a studio colleague: "I hope that holds the goddam brats" are not all apocryphal. I myself heard one of them spill the line into a live microphone in Rochester, in 1926. "Heidy" wouldn't think of calling a brat a brat, let alone swear on the air. Radio today knows its manners as well as its equipment. Much of it knows, too, how to adapt itself to the needs of modern psychology. On a higher level than "Heidy" are ABC's "Child's World" and "NBC's "World Over Theatre," which have both just received citations from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It's mainly on the adult level that radio fails too often these days—and nights.

CBS's publicity department has a new, unwritten rule now: Have a handout ready for any NBC show or personality with a Hooper above 4.2. It's only among the non-network radio

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stations that some experimental life is still left. WNEW, New York, has a weekly period, Sundays at 10, that should be heard coast-to-coast. Gilbert Seldes, whom some remember as author of *The Seven Lively Arts,* speaks on that 15-minute program and his range is wide. He may touch on books, or the latest play on Broadway, or the absolute silliness (and worse) of movie advertising, or the art of being a model, or comics. Once in a while he even alludes to the existence of radio and television. It's roaming criticism at its best.

Over at NBC-radio, the big news is that Henry Morgan is returning. He is inheriting the Sunday-night-at-8:30 spot once held down by Fred Allen (who is quite definitely ready to retire from radio altogether at the end of the season). But the last time NBC took me into confidence, Morgan was to be shorn of the very device that made him popular, his eagerness to rib sponsors. He starts March 13, and we'll check on him then.

The television news concerns "The Goldbergs" and Shakespeare. The Goldbergs of the Bronx have been on radio for 17 years. Mrs. Gertrude Berg, who always played Molly Goldberg, invented and wrote the serial, not so much as a situation comedy as a running character study. Until March 7 "The Goldbergs" may be seen on CBS television Mondays at eight. After that they move up to nine o'clock, same night.

Television was a test for Mrs. Berg. With the help of Philip Loeb as her husband "Jake," a cast of regulars plus guests, and above all with the assistance of producer-director Worthington Miner, "Molly" has made it. The lady is often on the verge of the lushly sentimental, of heroics too handsome and selflessness too harrowing to behold. But she always manages to stop short of bathos and become human. Mrs. Berg's script keeps "The Goldbergs" under control; Miner directs with tight reins; Loeb's acting weaves just enough effacement into his self-assertion. They're a lovable and real comedy combination.

Both CBS and NBC are going after Shakespeare. That same Miner mentioned above is going to put "Julius Caesar" on his usually outstanding "Studio One" TV program on Sunday, March 6, 7:30 to 8:30 p.m. A month later, Sunday, April 3, NBC-TV will do the same play, 3:30-5. Note the different lengths. CBS's version will not only be a frank condensation; it will also be done in modern dress. NBC, with the help of Amherst College players, promises to go whole-hog, using the vast stage of the Folger Library in Washington as a studio. This will be a sweepstake worth clocking.

I hope both "Caesar" productions are more successful than NBC-TV's venture with the bard on the "Philco Television Theatre," when "Twelfth Night" was attempted. Frederick Coe, who produces and directs the Philco program, is, along with another NBC man named Hal Keith and CBS's Miner, among the genuine talents in television. But he didn't quite make the grade this time. Maybe the fault was in the choice of play. I reread it in boning up for my video session, and wondered at the temerity that would attempt to bring to the home screen the combination of broad Elizabethan humor and tangled plotting. The play I saw was the answer.

John Carradine as Malvolio and Richard Goode as Sir Toby came closest to fulfilling their roles; but Toby's best lines were bowdlerized—as might have been expected. Marsha Hunt as Viola was downright disappointing. The rest of the cast was so-so. The script was not Shakespeare but a fellow from Avon with a censor breathing down his neck.

You may recall the case of G. A. Richards, chairman of the board of three high-power radio stations, who has been accused of ordering newscasters and commentators at KMPC, Los Angeles, to slant news. The Federal Communications Commission is supposed to be eager to investigate his manner of running not only KMPC but also WGAR, Cleveland, and WJR, Detroit. The first hearing, which was

"It will be the most important book of 1949."
—Chicago Sun-Times

FEAR, WAR, AND THE BOMB

By P. M. S. BLACKETT
1948 Nobel Prize Winner

"P.M.S. Blackett's sober analysis of the most terrifying problem of our time far excels any evaluation of the military and political consequences of atomic energy that has thus far appeared . . . an imposing array of irrefutable conclusions as valuable as they are at variance with common opinion."—JAMES R. NEWMAN, former counsel to the U. S. Senate Committee on Atomic Energy and author of THE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY, in the *New Republic*

"The ablest study of the atomic-energy problem that I have seen."—LEONARD ENGEL in *The Nation*

"An intellectually exciting book, a closely reasoned and clear book, and a book which gives a model of hard-boiled and almost quantitative political argument. It needs to be read by every American who wants to have an informed opinion on the political issues raised by the atomic bomb."—PHILIP MORRISON, Professor of Physics, *Cornell University*

At all bookstores
WHITTLESEY HOUSE $3.50
A Division of the McGraw-Hill Book Co., N. Y. 18

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK

ALBERT EINSTEIN says, "In my opinion 'NATIONALISM AND CULTURE' by Rudolf Rocker is deserving of the highest respect. I have studied it throughout, and I learn that specialists in its field are also interesting themselves in its behalf." Send $4 for a copy to Rocker Publications Committee, 2101 South Gramercy Place, Los Angeles 7, California.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES — Popular brands $1.50 per carton postpaid. West of Mississippi add 8¢ per carton. Min. order 3 cartons. Send check or money order. King Co., Box 569-B, Dover, Delaware.

HELP WANTED: MALE

***MATURED MEMBERS** of counselling staff,* interested in forming more or less permanent association with progressive, coeducational Maine camp, joining a working team in study and research combined with individual counselling and activity leadership. Write Sebago School, 5521 Cates Ave., St. Louis 12, Mo.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone Correspondence Courses are available to Veterans under G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS. Send for FREE book. State of G. I. Linguaphone Institute, 86 RCA Bldg., New York.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 264 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. 1.

MAGAZINE

HOW OLD IS FURIOSO?—For the answer to this question and many others equally absurd, read FURIOSO's ANNIVERSARY (Winter) ISSUE. Among the contributors: Edmund Wilson, Helen Coggeshall, Lysander Kemp, Arthur Mizener, Weldon Kees, Paul Goodman, Irwin Touster, Rosemary Paris. Subscribe now. Send $2.00 for four issues to FURIOSO, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

SCULPTURE

SCULPTURE CLASSES—Special attention to beginners. Portraiture and figure composition. Saturday afternoon and even sessions. Esther Zolott, 1055 Third Avenue. REgent 7-6545.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPTS AND THESIS TYPING, intelligent, inexpensive. Ambassador Office Service, 17 East 48th St., N.Y.C., PL 3-1364.

WANTED

TO BUY: a one-story house for $10,000; anywhere within commuting distance of New York City. Box 180, The New Republic.

New Republic

CLASSROOM RATES

8 cents a copy in lots of 10 or more shipped to one address

DESK COPIES FREE

scheduled for February, in Los Angeles, has been postponed to March 16. Delay helps Richards, and the FCC really is terribly busy. But so are Richards' public-relations boys. He just got a citation from the Veteran Members of Congress at the annual dinner sponsored by the VFW. The plaque applauds him for "distinguished" service to veterans and "all worthy patriotic organizations."

Some have greatness thrust
upon them. – "Twelfth Night"

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Suffering Humanity

IT IS THE THESIS of Humphrey Bogart's "Knock on Any Door" that the trespasses of the individual are the responsibility of society. Broadly speaking, that is a true and worthy theme for a picture, but in this case it is poorly stated. The film is complacent in its tone of moral superiority; Bogart preens himself in wordy and repetitious piety. Beyond that, Nick Romano, the victim, seems an excessively sensitive flower of the slums. Many, perhaps most, criminals get that way because of the raw deal life forces on them, but the history of Romano is brightened by a number of helping hands and lucky breaks.

"Knock on Any Door" works around to the position that if a boy gets one kick in the teeth he must thenceforth be shielded from all temptation, disappointment, injustice and tactlessness or he may go out and shoot himself a cop. There isn't enough cotton wool around to coddle such fragility. What this picture proves in its zeal is that fatherless boys raised in tenements are to be held blameless for rolling drunks, holding up saloons and mowing down the constabulary. The afternoon I saw it, a youthful audience displayed alarming enthusiasm for this viewpoint.

"Knock on Any Door," based on a novel by Willard Motley, is a courtroom melodrama with flashbacks, and gives the lisping Bogart, defense lawyer and friend of the accused, ample opportunity to lecture the judge, the jury, the newspaper reporters, and anyone who happens to be facing the screen. As the case progresses, the prosecution is caught in a number of shabby tricks tending to show that Romano is being railroaded. Any indignation worked up over this skulduggery is wasted, however, for it develops that Romano is as guilty as they come. George Macready, the DA, also wears an appliquéd scar to arouse public hostility. John Derek, a newcomer, was given the role of Romano because of his girlish good looks. He performs with surface emotion and a mechanical obedience to direction. Allene Roberts plays his wife with irritating humility; Barry Kelley, as the judge, produces the one convincing moment in the picture when he drags the lawyers off to his chambers and reads them the riot act. Society isn't so far gone that it has to take "Knock on Any Door" lying down.

A vessel that puts to sea with Lionel Barrymore and a small boy on board is reasonably certain of a damp voyage. "Down to the Sea in Ships" is the season's most lachrymose picture. Widmark fans will want to check on their favorite stinker in the role of shining hero (he's frank and boyish, with never a giggle). Dean Stockwell, the manly little tyke, is available for frustrated mothers. Whales appear, but much too briefly. You run into a budget problem these days with whales.

The makers of "Caught," Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, had in mind to pander to the most unhealthy day dreams of high-school juniors, shopgirls, and idle housewives whose husbands admit a flagging vigor. It dangles before their slack faces the alluring dilemma of choosing between wealth immeasurable and the arms of James Mason, the British cat fancier. Barbara Bel

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Geddes, a pure and beautiful model, marries Robert Ryan, a megalomaniac multimillionaire. He treats her so mean that she lights out and gets a job as receptionist to an idealistic doctor (Mason) working with slum kids.

Love blossoms over a case of botulism, but Ryan's bestiality has included making his wife pregnant, and in his madness he insists on keeping the baby if she runs off with her medical pal. Fate intervenes in this black hour, causing Ryan to be killed by a falling pinball machine (no fooling) and permitting his wife to suffer a miscarriage. Among purveyors of this kind of *halvah* such a solution evidently passes for a happy ending. The acting is on a level with the story. ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Catholics in Labor

SIR: Well over a year ago (the *NR*, October 20, 1947) you published an article of mine which sketched the rise of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the CIO. Most of the article's contentions and predictions were criticized in a number of letters sent to the *NR* by prominent CIO officials.

What I said—and what was denied by the letter writers—was: that the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, by reason of its direction of the "anti-Communist" campaign in CIO unions, would soon become the most powerful force inside the CIO; that CIO ruling circles were dominated by Catholic personalities and thought; that principled non-Communists would wake up to find themselves actual agents of the Church in labor; that the conflict in the CIO between the philosophy of "class struggle" affirmed by Communists and that of "class collaboration" which is official Catholic doctrine, was, no doubt, a part of the worldwide war between the Vatican and the Kremlin. . . .

The January issue of *Fortune* magazine, documented at one point by a quotation from former CIO Director of Education and Research Kermit Eby, confirmed what my article had declared. The Catholic Church has now won all its major objectives in the CIO with the exception of the United Electrical Workers—and there, since the CIO convention some time ago, Catholic activity has been enormously increased. . . .

I am amazed that no liberal journal has cared to follow in the past year the progress of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Nor has any magazine, to my knowledge, examined the theoretical and practical principles of the Catholic Church as they relate to the labor movement. There is plenty to go on in the various papal encyclicals, in the history of labor in Germany, Italy and Spain since World War I, and in hundreds of local unions throughout the US. . . .

Mendham, N. J. JAMES HIGGINS

BANDWAGON

What's the Use?

"The facility with which he [man] finds means to counter the most highly developed machines of warfare is discouraging." – *Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, John Nicholas Brown, as quoted in an AP dispatch from White Oak, Maryland.*

Heathen Rascals

DUTCH ARE ANNOYED BY SNIPING, DAMAGE IN EAST JAVA HILLS. – *Head in the Cincinnati* Enquirer.

All in the Family

It is not true, he said, that Generalissimo Franco personally appoints bishops to vacancies in the hierarchy. What happens is that whenever a vacancy occurs, Franco presents six names to the Papal Nuncio, who forwards the list to the Vatican. The Pope selects three candidates, from whom Franco chooses the bishop. – *Homer Bigart in the New York* Herald Tribune.

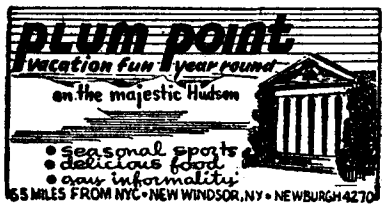
Taxi!

Canada is not suffering from a shortage of automobiles but rather from a gap between a good supply and an abnormal demand. – *P. O. Messier, national president of the Federation of Automobile Dealers' Associations of Canada, as quoted in a Canadian Press dispatch from Edmonton.*

Our readers are invited to contribute, $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

RESORTS

WINTER VACATION AT
ARROWHEAD
Fireplaces • Recordings
Reserve Now for
Lincoln's and Washington's Birthday
GOOD FOOD • ALL WINTER SPORTS
ARROWHEAD • Ellenville, N. Y.
Phone: Ellenville 502, 503


PLUM POINT
vacation fun 1 year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• easy informality
65 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction. Ideal for spring vacations and weekends. Mile-long lake. All seasonal sports. Varied indoor recreations. Roaring fireplaces. Television. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Rates moderate.
NEW YORK OFFICE
Phone: MU 2-2424

TRAVEL

England? South America?
Maybe you can afford to travel in 1949
. . . via Romantic
FREIGHTERS
Why say that travel is too expensive? Look at the rates given in "Travel Routes," the directory of passenger-carrying freighters. Packed with hundreds of lower-cost voyages to everywhere, from overnight to many months. Make your plans now for a better, fuller vacation than ever before. Send 35¢ (coins) for "Travel Routes" to Harian Publications, 212 Blvd., Greenlawn, Long Island, New York.

Now available at 25¢
IRON CURTAIN FOR THE MIND
By Joseph P. Lash

In response to widespread demand, we have reprinted as a 24-page pamphlet the series of *New Republic* articles by Mr. Lash.

They throw light on Russian science and heresy, artists and bureaucrats, Titoism, the Varga controversy, the attack on culture, and other aspects of Soviet life which have recently been the subject of heated discussion.

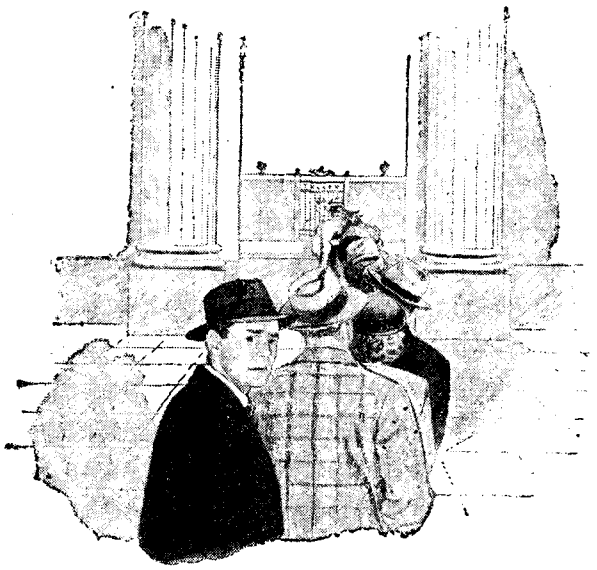
Did you find this series informative and revealing when it appeared in the *New Republic?* Then buy this pocket-size pamphlet for re-reading — for convenient reference — for your friends. Only 25¢.

Send order and payment to

New Republic, 40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THIS IS HARD

BUT THIS IS EASY

AND THIS IS MIGHTY WONDERFUL

SURE, you believe in saving.

But it's mighty hard to make yourself take cash out of your pocket, and time out of your day, to do it regularly.

The sure way, the *easy* way to do your saving is to get started on an *automatic* savings plan with U. S. Savings Bonds. Like this . . .

1. If you're on a payroll, sign up in the Payroll Savings Plan, then forget it. From then on the money saves itself—so much per week, or so much per month.

2. If you're not on a payroll, sign up at your bank for the Bond-A-Month Plan. Equally easy. You decide how much you want to put into bonds every month, your bank does the rest.

In just ten years after you start buying bonds, your money starts coming back to you—well-fattened! Every $3 you invest today brings you back $4 to make possible all the wonderful things you dream of *doing*.

And remember—any time you need your money for emergencies, you can get it back in minutes, without

Automatic saving is sure saving—U.S. Savings Bonds

Contributed by this magazine in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW REPUBLIC SPECIAL SECTION

NEXT STEPS in the FAIR DEAL

★

A POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM

★ ★ NEW REPUBLIC, MARCH 7, 1949, IN TWO PARTS: PART TWO ★ ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Report on a **ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE** sponsored by the Union for Democratic Action Education Fund, in coöperation with the New Republic, at the Hotel Carlton, Washington, D. C., January 15, 1949

PARTICIPANTS*

DEWEY ANDERSON, *Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute; formerly U. S. Representative* • DAVID BAKER, *Associate Secretary, South Carolina National Democratic Party; lawyer, five years in Navy* ANDREW BIEMILLER, *U. S. Representative from Wisconsin* • RICHARD BOLLING, *U. S. Representative from Missouri; formerly AVC National Vice Chairman* DR. MAXIE CARLETON COLLINS, *Baptist Minister; organized and directed opposition to Dixiecrat movement in South Carolina* • HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS, *U. S. Representative from Southern California* • PAUL DOUGLAS,** *U. S. Senator from Illinois* • TILFORD DUDLEY, *Assistant Director, CIO-PAC* • GARDNER JACKSON, *publicist* • JOSEPH KEENAN, *Director, Labor's League for Political Education, AFL* JOSEPH P. LASH, *Contributing Editor,* New Republic; *Secretary of Round Table and edited its proceedings* • JOHN MULLEN, *PAC Director, United Steelworkers of America, CIO* • ROBERT. R. NATHAN, *Attorney and Economist; formerly Chairman, Planning Committee, WBP; Deputy Director, OWMR* CLAUDE PEPPER, *U. S. Senator from Florida; presided at morning session of Round Table* LESLIE PERRY, *Washington Representative, NAACP* • JACOB POTOFSKY,** *President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America* • JOSEPH L. RAUH, *Chairman, Executive Committee, ADA; formerly Deputy Director, Emergency Housing Program* FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT JR., *Attorney; Chairman, NYC Mayor's Committee on Unity* • BEN STONG, *Chairman, Regional Committee for Missouri Valley Authority* • MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *Editor,* New Republic; *presided at afternoon session of Round Table* • GUS TYLER, *Political Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; National Planning Committee, AVC* • ROBERT F. WAGNER JR., *Chairman, City Planning Commission, NYC* • A. F. WHITNEY, *President, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen*

*All conferees were present as individuals, not as representatives of organizations.

**Unable to attend Round Table but submitted comments for inclusion in final Report.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEXT STEPS in the FAIR DEAL

I. THE SITUATION IN CONGRESS

THE LAST ELECTION made it clear that when issues are drawn sharply so that the voters know what is at stake, the American people, out of a deeply rooted liberalism, will vote for a progressive approach in governmental affairs.

The danger today is that a clear-cut election mandate will be finessed out of existence by the deft maneuvers of Washington lobbyists, unreconstructed congressmen and a never-say-die press.

The danger to the Truman legislative program is magnified by the lack of liaison between Washington and the people. In a matter of days, the legislative climate of opinion changes and measures which were certain of passage become doubtful, and doubtful measures are tabled. Civil rights, expanded social security, fair labor legislation, valley authorities—all of which the people thought they had guaranteed by their vote on November 2—are placed in jeopardy.

Unless the people who voted for a Fair Deal in 1948 keep up an unremitting pressure in 1949, the full benefits of the 1948 victory will not be realized.

To focus public attention on the tactical situation in Washington a round-table conference of labor and liberal spokesmen was held in Washington in January. The people who met were representative of the various groups that constituted the victorious Truman coalition—the trade-union political-action committees, the younger, liberal elements of the Democratic Party, the progressive South, the ADA, the Negro groups, progressive farmers and New Deal technicians.

The purpose of the round-table was to get out to liberals and labor people everywhere the best available information on the status of liberal measures in the 81st Congress and the organizational steps that must be taken by the liberal and labor coalition to consolidate the position it gained in the elections.

The round-table reported on here demonstrates dramatically the state of mind in the nation's capital. It catches the atmosphere of Fair Deal Washington —an atmosphere that is electric with projects for the benefit of the people, in which the controversies relate to "how much" and "which comes first," rather than to "should we" or "how shall we hold the line."

At the same time it illustrates the dangers inherent in the great opportunities before American liberalism —dangers growing out of a parochial insistence, on the part of many of the groups in the victorious coalition, on their own projects rather than on a united strategy.

Some striking conclusions came out of the round-table meeting. They are:

1. No one group gained the victory in 1948, whether labor, farmers, housers, educators; it was a collective victory and to reap the full fruits of it there must be a collective strategy in the 81st Congress.

2. The groups who elected President Truman and the 81st Congress are watching carefully the way pledges are being fulfilled. They insist, as a minimum, that on all measures, the issues be drawn in Congress in such a way that their representatives will have to stand up and be counted.

3. The liberal-labor coalition expects results in this session on labor legislation, which includes repeal of Taft-Hartley and restoration of the Wagner Act; a substantial civil-rights program; slum clearance; aid to education; a health program which includes an insurance scheme; and aid to the family-size farm.

4. The over-all economic program embodied in the President's economic messages, even if enacted in full, would still not assure economic stabilization at the level of full employment. An integrated tax structure which includes an excess-profits tax, the development of valley authorities, and full-dress investigations into the structure of monopoly and insurance are necessary.

5. The labor and liberal groups, far from demobilizing their political-action machines, should, through the mechanism of shop and neighborhood legislative stewards, focus attention on the activities of Congress and state legislatures. They should prepare to participate in the hundreds of municipal elections coming up in 1949, and take steps now to enable them to influence party nominations in 1950.

6. No final answer was given to the question

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether labor and liberal groups should commit themselves to the Democratic Party as the nation's liberal party. It was important, the group felt, to keep the coalition vigorous and independent as a means of pressure on the Democratic Party; at the same time it was important to work within the Party from the precinct level up to the National Committee to transform it into a national liberal party.

The conference was the first of a series, to be organized by the Union for Democratic Action Educational Fund in coöperation with the *New Republic*, whose purpose it is to explore the problems basic to the advance of liberalism in the next decade. The proceedings of these conferences will be published in the *New Republic* and edited, as this report has been, by Joseph P. Lash.

A Full Employment Congress

CLAUDE PEPPER of Florida, doughty Senate champion of collective security even in pre-Pearl Harbor days, and a knowledgeable fighter for liberal legislation, served as chairman during the discussion of the legislative program. He opened the discussion by saying that the President's State of the Union message embodied a magnificent program and it was essential that liberals take advantage of a public mood so well-disposed toward liberalism to give the President's recommendations all the momentum we possibly can.

Some of the problems that needed discussion, he declared, were labor legislation, welfare legislation, amendment of the Senate rules, and civil rights. Mrs. Douglas interposed that a good way to start was with economics, which constituted the fundamental area of difference between Republicans and Democrats. Senator Pepper asked Robert Nathan to lead off.

Nathan expressed the probability that the 81st Congress would, before it was through, be known as the Full Employment Congress and that the objectives of the Full Employment Act of 1946 might be realized.

MR. NATHAN. There are three ways one can go about trying to eliminate boom and bust. One is to let booms and busts run their course, which is the Hoover, or passive, technique. I think that approach is out of the window for all time. We never will resign ourselves to that concept any more.

The second way is, let the boom run its course and when the break comes, fill it in. We now realize that to avoid mass unemployment may mean a fill-in of not two or three billions of dollars a year, as we thought under FERA and CWA and WPA, and so forth, but it might mean $15 to $25 billion if we run into a major bust. Deficit financing is certainly preferable to mass unemployment.

The third technique is to try to avoid in boom times the weaknesses that develop in the system which tend to bring about the bust.

MR. ANDERSON. There is another alternative besides those three. It is that we drop, not into a bust, but into a situation that a good many of the big industries would probably welcome. Steel apparently would. We drop down to a somewhat lower level of activity by the end of the year, where they are more comfortable; where their profit margin is still pretty well assured; where they do not have to face such a thing as government expansion of plant capacity, or a situation requiring increased government "interference." But this means an under-use of resources, considerable unemployment and a large number of people on "dole." It is no real solution of the problem.

Nathan said that the President's economic messages were chiefly concerned with the maintenance of a high level of economic activity without further inflation. But there was also the problem of avoiding a depression. While there was no immediate threat of a major deflation, now was the time to undertake corrective measures that would prevent a bust. An excess-profits tax, he felt, was essential if capital investment was to maintain a healthy relationship to expenditures on consumption.

MR. NATHAN. In the last three years we have had a rate of capital expenditures, of capital formation, of new plant and equipment, which is untenable for the long run. We have spent such a large proportion of our total national income on capital formation that we are running into the same kind of situation that prevailed in the late twenties when the rate of increase in productive capacity had been rapid and the rate of increase in consumption had been much more moderate. The gap between the two tended to widen. It seems to be happening again. If this kind of relationship keeps on for long, we shall run into trouble.

That brings up the question: Where does the money for capital expenditure come from? In the last two or three years, it has come almost entirely from two sources, undistributed profits and depreciation allowances. Business is upset because there is not the traditional capital market where it can float securities and get its funds for capital expenditures out of the sale of equities and bonds. Profits are too high, but despite those high profits we have not had a strong stock market, that is, a healthy, relatively high stock market, which bears some relationship to earnings. One of the reasons

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"What will be the effect . . ." SENATOR PEPPER

for the weak market lies in the belief of people in industry and finance that the business picture is unsound and the inflation will not long endure.

They are right from the point of view of laissez-faire economics. Let the inflation run its course; it will not last much longer. It has lasted this long because of the tremendous backlog of demand here at home, the failure of crops in '47, the tremendous foreign aid that we are intending, and our large military expenditures. The problem now is one of avoiding further inflation as well as deflation, and also, most importantly, correcting the distortions that have emerged during the 1945-49 years of inflation.

This Congress ought to consider as one of its objectives a better relationship between corporate profits and other segments in the income stream, and that, it seems to me, suggests the need for an excess-profits tax.

Such a tax takes away the incentive for further inflationary price increases; and second, it reduces the amount of funds available for capital expenditures.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Bob, what would be the basis of such an excess-profits tax?

MR. NATHAN. My own suggestion would be perhaps setting '45 or '46 as the base and allowing the '45 or '46 returns plus the same profit ratio as existed in '45 or '46 on new investment since that base year; or as an alternative, a rather high percentage on net worth as a base. I would allow even 12 percent on net worth. I would also exempt the first $50,000 or $100,000 of every corporation's income, which would immediately eliminate well over 90 percent of all your corporations.

MRS. DOUGLAS. Would that help new business?

The portrait drawings appearing throughout this supplement are by Morris Neuwirth.

MR. NATHAN. Yes, if you exempted the first $100,000 it certainly would. The main group that would be reached is the small number of relatively large corporations. I understand that General Motors this year is scheduled to make 30 percent on its net worth, after taxes. Of the five big companies producing copper and lead—and I might say that lead prices today are almost five times what they were in 1940—only one company made less than 20 percent after taxes on net worth in 1948, on the basis of the first three quarters' figures. It is these relatively few companies, mostly large, making these fantastic rates on net worth, which ought to be subject to the corporate excess-profits tax.

An excess-profits tax would have the very important fundamental economic objective of bringing about a more moderate rate of increase in capital formation. Congress should couple it with shifts in other taxes such as, say, reduction of excise taxes in areas where competition was beginning to emerge aggressively. Stoves, for instance—we have an excise tax on stoves, and I understand supplies are beginning to back up. We would then be getting the kind of tax structure which takes account of the changing economic picture and creates a more healthy environment.

I know that business will yell, "If you are going to take away some of our excess profits, if you are going to take away some of our undistributed profits, you are going to take away some of the money which we need for investment purposes," but I am convinced that if Congress adopts an economic package which in itself gives business confidence that we are going to have full employment, the stock market will go up, there will be a more normal relationship between security prices and profits than in the past, and there will be a market for equity financing.

Historically, the source of funds for capital formation has been primarily the flotation of securities, and we ought to try to get back to that. If it appears clearly and surely that Congress, on the one hand, is going to avoid further inflation, and on the other hand is going to take steps to avoid depressions or fill in if depression comes, then there will be a degree of confidence and optimism that will stimulate the equity market for investment financing.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. You feel it is necessary to curtail the rate of expansion of plant equipment in order to make sure that inflation will not become too dangerous?

MR. NATHAN. Not only that——

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. What will be the effect of that on this so-called economy of abundance that we want to create?

MR. NATHAN. Actually, it is not a serious curtailment. We would be much better off if we spent 15 billion this year on capital investment instead of 20 and had the prospect of spending continuously 15 billion, than if we spent 20 billion for two or three years and after that spent zero,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or two or three billion, which is what has happened in the past. The over-all rate of growth of productive facilities will be much larger if we have a slightly less rapid rate of growth in boom times but continue to have prosperity.

Expanding Productive Capacity

GARDNER JACKSON raised the question whether special commodities did not require special treatment. Nathan said that it was urgent that the President's recommendations with respect to the expansion of basic steel capacity be followed. Dewey Anderson intervened to say there were incongruities in the whole capacity picture that required special treatment. He cited steel, light metals, copper, lead, probably zinc, and surely power. Gardner Jackson added nitrates and phosphates.

MR. ANDERSON. In the fertilizer field we have a desperate situation in which we are up against the fertilizer trust. Only a government program of fertilizer production will break this trust and supply farmers with abundant fertilizers at reasonable prices.

¶ Senator Pepper asked Ben Stong how conservation and power development would affect the shortages picture.

MR. STONG. Development of low-cost hydro-electric power in the West is essential to make practical operation in alumina, low-grade manganese ore and several other minerals feasible. It is essential to the solution of another of our most serious shortages: fertilizer.

About 85 percent of the nation's phosphate deposits are along the divide between the Missouri and Columbia basins. There is little commercial fertilizer production, but it would be feasible for a Valley Authority, or authorities, using the TVA electric-furnace process, to make high-analysis materials which would ship economically into at least half of the geography of the nation.

There is low-cost power available from the Columbia Valley, but the Bonneville Power Administration has been unable to get funds for a transmission line to the phosphate areas. There is much undeveloped power in the precipitous headwater streams of the Missouri which would undoubtedly stimulate fertilizer production if the TVA fertilizer operation was duplicated in the West.

Farmers would use—if they could get it—about twice as much phosphate as is now being produced. That isn't what the land needs. It needs many times present production. But there isn't even enough to provide what farmers want to buy and put on the land.

MR. STRAIGHT. Which of the valley projects are really urgent?

MR. STONG. It seems to me the Columbia, the Missouri, the St. Lawrence and probably the Central Valley in California. The Arkansas needs attention, but there has been little promotion work for it yet. As a matter of fact, we know of the urgency in the valleys mentioned because they have been studied and publicized. From what I hear, there are a dozen valleys at least where, if the facts were as thoroughly known as in the Missouri, at least equal urgency would be evident. We should study the shortcomings of present programs in every valley in the United States.

MRS. DOUGLAS. May I say that the greatest opposition to the Marshall Plan came from the farm bloc in the 80th Congress? There is a shortage of fertilizer not only at home but in the world. The United States was party to an international agreement that sought to distribute equitably the world supply of fertilizer. Under this agreement we received certain kinds of fertilizer of which we were in very short supply in exchange for fertilizer we could more readily spare.

In the European Recovery Program we had agreed to export only that amount of fertilizer already guaranteed under the international agreement. When the bill was brought to the floor of the House for discussion and a vote, we were told by the agricultural members of the House that we would not get the European Recovery Program through the House if we insisted on living up to the international agreements on fertilizer. We almost backed down on those agreements when state after state testified in the House to the fact that it was short of fertilizers.

Aside from the breaking of a commitment, in view of the hunger in the world, it would have been disastrous if we had given in to the farm bloc. The production of fertilizer should be expanded.

¶ To Senator Pepper's inquiry as to which executive agencies would initiate recommendations in this area Dewey Anderson replied that both Agriculture and Interior had already made recommendations to the President. Secretary Brannan (Department of Agriculture) was beginning to fight the fertilizer trust, "which is a mighty big fight when you take it on," and Secretary Krug (Department of Interior) had turned over the conservation and valley-development program "to young Jebbie Davidson, who is the best find in government for my money." The order of priority in the Administration's program was Columbia Valley first, then Central Valley in California, third the Missouri Valley Authority, and finally the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The question was raised whether such an expansion program would not have inflationary consequences.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. NATHAN. It depends on what you do at the same time with taxes. Let's assume that you could introduce a tax program which would under 1948 conditions cut the profits after taxes from $21 billion to, let's say, $16 billion, which would still be quite good—60 percent above the peak of the war. We are talking about profits after taxes. To the extent that you did that, you would then reduce the amount of capital formation or investment in other areas and make the released resources available for expansion in power, steel, fertilizer and so forth, and you still might not have continued inflation.

To the extent that this enlarged program of investment in these essential areas would not be offset by curtailment elsewhere, and inflation continued unabated, you would need stand-by price controls.

Stand-by controls over materials allocations and prices were regarded as still necessary. Dewey Anderson expressed himself strongly that the postwar voluntary system of materials allocations was driving thousands of small businessmen into desperate straits.

Sentiment at the round table was unanimous that the Joint Committee (House and Senate) on the Economic Report, in coöperation with the Council of Economic Advisers, was the most important single group in the whole economic legislative program. The hope was expressed that Senator O'Mahoney, chairman of the Joint Committee, would get the very best staff people possible—"the committee had wretched staff work under Taft," someone commented—and that an advisory group of citizens knowledgeable in over-all economic questions would be set up.

The Joint Committee had to take the responsibility together with the Council of Economic Advisers for fitting together the various economic proposals into a consistent pattern.

MR. NATHAN. It all has to be put together. For instance, let's take one illustration: social security. Social security can be a vehicle to bring about the kind of income-distribution pattern that we need for stability.

To do so we must get away as time goes along—this is my own view—from relying primarily on payroll taxes as the means of financing. I do not think we ought to get away from it entirely, but payroll taxes, which are perhaps the most regressive of all taxes we have, should not be the exclusive source of financing for social security.

Unless the Joint Committee on the Economic Report undertakes to integrate the financing of social security with our whole tax program, we may on the one hand be deflating and on the other inflating.

MR. ANDERSON. There is one area that is left out (and it is economic in character as well as political and social), and that is the whole area of business-structure problems, which has a direct effect upon prices. You noticed in this morning's paper the much delayed anti-trust suit against AT&T. It points up the fact that this is one way of bringing down telephone bills. The 81st Congress ought to attack the business-structure problem.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. By anti-trust suits or what?

MR. ANDERSON. There are several ways. One, of course, is to give the Anti-Trust Division the budget it needs. The stranglehold that the Budget Bureau has upon the agencies of government that concern us liberals is something which ought to be stopped. For example, a little unit over in the Budget Bureau can determine how much of a program of anti-trust there will be. It does not happen to be in sympathy with the program. Therefore, we do not get a budget to do the anti-trust job. The whole program of the investment-trust investigations, to cite one important case, which goes to the heart of the problem that Bob Nathan is talking about, was shelved because they lacked funds to hire a dozen lawyers.

MR. NATHAN. No doubt, Senator, what we are getting into is an increasing degree of concentration in industry; it becomes private socialism in some sections. The whole area of anti-trust activity and business structure is one that calls for intensive investigation in this Congress.

There are three areas that this Congress ought to take a thorough look at in terms of comprehensive investigations. One is a review of our tax structure and program.

Second, the whole field of monopoly, integration and concentration in industry should be investigated, with a view toward strengthening our anti-trust activity. And third is the insurance field. More and more of our savings are institutionalized rather than individualized. Many savings go into channels which give small numbers of large units tremendous power. The power of the insurance companies today is phenomenal in this country.

MR. ANDERSON. The kind of flexible fiscal policy and tax policy and economic control policy we have been talking about is probably ten years ahead of us. I hope it is not that far away, but what powers you have to lodge in the administrative to get anything like a nice, neat fit of the things that have just been mentioned! Even so, we have to start, I am sure.

What Labor Wants from Congress

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Of course, we cannot spend too much time on any one subject or we will not be able to get over our agenda. We might move on to labor.

MR. WHITNEY. I think we all know the action taken by the Democratic National Convention. We favor a re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peal of the Taft-Hartley law. We know what the voice of the people was on November 2. We recall the outstanding statements made by the President in many of his addresses to the people across the nation, that the law had to be repealed, and I think that means we should repeal the Taft-Hartley law.

There is a ring in the Truman Administration that is working against him on this legislation. Ching (Cyrus S. Ching, Director, Federal Mediation Service) is one of them. Denham (Robert N. Denham, General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board) is another. Of course, in the administration of the Taft-Hartley law, those of us who represent labor know that at no time did Attorney Denham undertake to give labor a fair break under the law. It was always twisted to give management the better break.

I believe the Congress should repeal the law, and reinstate the old National Labor Relations Act.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Mr. Whitney, would you do anything in such a bill about the amendment of the Wagner Act in conformity with the President's recommendations with respect to secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes, and so forth?

MR. WHITNEY. There would have to be hearings on the President's recommendations. There is one that I do not believe labor would care to go along with, and that has reference to the prohibition of strikes to enforce decisions of the NLRB. You have got a decision such as we had on the Atlantic Coastline under the Wage-Hour law three or four years ago. There was one million dollars involved and they refused to pay it. It took the threat of a strike; even after the decision was against the carrier, it took the threat of a strike on the New York Central, on the AC, and several other railroads, to enforce decisions that were handed down by the Board.

"There is a ring in the Truman Administration . . ." A. F. WHITNEY

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Your view, then, Mr. Whitney (I want to get the views especially of you gentlemen who are here representing labor), is that we should have a simple bill for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the restoration of the Wagner Act as it was when the Taft-Hartley Act was enacted?

MR. WHITNEY. Exactly.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Mr. Keenan of the AFL, will you give us your view?

MR. KEENAN. My views coincide with the expressions of Mr. Whitney. The American Federation of Labor is committed, first, to repeal of Taft-Hartley and restoration of the Wagner Act; and then I believe we would want hearings on the Wagner Act for amendments. A group composed of labor and employers might be set up for the purpose of trying to develop amendments to the Act.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. A management-labor conference?

MR. KEENAN. Yes, with employers who are favorable to collective bargaining and the spirit of the Wagner Act.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Mr. Mullen of the Steelworkers?

MR. MULLEN. Our thoughts are very much in accord with those expressed by Mr. Keenan and Mr. Whitney. We are very much concerned about the President's desire to eliminate strikes in utilities, and things of that sort. We feel that as long as there is private enterprise, you just cannot outlaw strikes.

If utilities and railroads and similar enterprises are going to remain private enterprise, then I do not think anyone should take away labor's right, as Mr. Whitney said, a right to strike to force something into effect that has been decided or awarded. We have very good reasons to be very fearful of that particular part of the President's recommendations.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Mr. Tyler of ILGWU, will you give us your views?

MR. TYLER. I do not want to repeat what has been said. I do wish to stress the relationship between the way in which Taft-Hartley is repealed and the continuing efforts of labor to construct a permanent political machinery. For

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organizational reasons, it is immensely important to put congressmen on record—with a clear "yes" or "no" vote —so that our people know their friends from their foes.

A political machinery was constructed around the fight for repeal of Taft-Hartley. Our union campaigners did not electioneer for one package or two packages or three packages. They campaigned for repeal. They are far less interested in the wrapping than in the content. But they will want to know whether their congressman voted right or wrong. Then they will have a clear guide for the future.

That's why it is desirable to pursue a strategy whereby complicated voting, involving dozens of amendments and sub-amendments, can be avoided. Too many Senators and Representatives will seek to work both sides of the street by shuttling in and out among the innumerable amending clauses. We would recommend a putting-of-the-question so that the final vote would resemble a clear and definitive referendum on Taft-Hartley.

I should like to say a word in favor of "fresh thinking" on labor-management relations. Consider strikes involving the national health and welfare, for instance. We are opposed to any and all restrictions on the right to strike. We do not want any legal disabilities placed upon workers just because they happen to be employed in basic and vital industries. Yet we know that, at times, considerable public anger turns against organized labor because in a basic or vital industry dispute the union seems to be the anti-social element since it is performing the overt act of withholding its labor.

Further examination would very often show that management is the true culprit, forcing a strike by its unreasonable and provocative policy. "Fresh thinking" in this field, it seems to me, would be consideration of agencies through which the public might learn the truth and through which both parties would be more obliged to find a rational defense for policy. The answer might well be a public body, such as exists in some of the Scandinavian countries, composed of experts and persons of public standing, with an intimate and continuing knowledge of an assigned industry, with power to investigate, recommend and make public its findings. Such an agency would have moral force only, but the establishment of a morality in labor-management relations is the real answer to both anarchy and statism.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Let me ask you gentlemen of labor, suppose we brought out the single bill to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and restore the Wagner Act, and suppose we went to the floor and they tacked on a lot of these other amendments.

MR. KEENAN. We would like to get them up against the brass and put them on record, and the only way we can get them on record is by an outright repeal bill. They did a lot of that sashaying around on Taft-Hartley, but the only thing we counted noses on was the sustaining of the President's veto.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Labor would want to be heard, would it, on the question of the President's recommendations?

MR. WHITNEY. Absolutely. I am not speaking for anyone but the Trainmen, but I think labor will agree to two or three reasonable amendments to the Wagner Act. So far as the Trainmen are concerned, we are not averse to the prohibition of jurisdictional strikes. They have never got us anything. They do not get the public anything nor the industries anything. It is just a matter of jealousy between labor organizations that creates a feud, burns up a lot of money and puts labor in bad.

Before I express an opinion on the question of filing financial statements, I would want to know how the other organizations feel about it, but the Brotherhood has been filing financial statements for years. We see no objection to that, but I would be governed largely by the action of the CIO and the AFL on that.

MR. ROOSEVELT. There is one thing about this public-interest issue that a lot of us overlook. When we are faced with a situation, as we were two and a half years ago with the railroad strike, we forget that we probably could go for several days without the country really being torn to pieces by such an occurrence. It is the press of this country that scares the public to death when anything like that comes along, and it is also the press of the country that puts the blame, not where it usually belongs—on management—but on labor, and labor gets put into the position of sacrificing the public's interest to its interest.

This is not really the case, and I think that labor ought seriously to consider means—public-relations means, perhaps—of using the radio and other facilities when those times come along, to point out the public interest in the situation.

Majority or Two-Thirds Cloture

THE GROUP then moved on at Senator Pepper's suggestion to the problems involved in civil-rights legislation. A fundamental tactical difference soon developed over whether cloture should be clamped on Senate debate in order to prevent filibusters by a majority vote or a two-thirds vote. Senator Pepper himself had introduced a bill permitting the limitation of debate by a two-thirds vote when ten calendar days have elapsed after debate began on any question of pending business, and said it was likely that the Hayden-Saltonstall Resolution to cut off debate by a two-thirds vote would be reported out of the Rules Committee.

One could accomplish the same results, he said, if

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

". . . the Hayden resolution is meaningless." PERRY, BOLLING, ANDERSON

the chairman of the Senate, Vice President Barkley, would reverse his predecessor's, Senator Vandenberg's, ruling that the cloture rule of the Senate did not apply to motions to take up legislation or to motions to amend the journal. If the Vice President, who has always voted in favor of cloture, would reverse Senator Vandenberg's ruling, the only remaining problem would be that of getting the two-thirds vote. Perry of the NAACP and Rauh of the ADA held that a two-thirds cloture rule would not open the way for civil-rights legislation.

MR. PERRY. Unless, and until, the Senate rules are changed so as to provide for shutting off filibusters by a *majority* of the members voting on the question, not only are the chances of enacting a civil-rights program during the 81st Congress seriously endangered, but other social legislation, including the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, may have tough sledding.

The record bears that out. For example, out of 19 filibusters since 1917, cloture has been invoked *only* four times. These involved the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919; US participation in the World Court in 1926; a banking bill in 1927; and the creation of a Bureau of Customs and Bureau of Prohibition during that same year.

The history of filibusters on civil-rights legislation shows that only on one bill, the Fair Employment Practices Commission, were we able to get as many as 48 votes for cloture, which was less than two-thirds of those voting.

The resolution to amend the Senate rules on cloture offered by Senator Hayden (D, Ariz.), which is the measure expected to be reported out of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, does not change the present requirement that two-thirds of the Senators voting must vote for cloture to end a filibuster. All the Hayden resolution does is to provide expressly that cloture is applicable to motions and other matters pending before the Senate. That is not enough. It won't do the job. Under it you still have minority rule: one-third of the Senate with filibusters, or threats of filibusters, dominating and running roughshod over the great majority of Congress and the people of the United States. I want to see democracy in the Senate procedure.

Of course, the real joker in the situation, and possibly the measure of the sincerity of the supporters of Senator Hayden's resolution, is this: Vice President Barkley, on the basis of statements he made on the Senate floor last summer during the special session, is practically committed as presiding officer of the Senate to rule, as a matter of parliamentary law and procedure, that under existing rules cloture *is* applicable to motions and other pending business. As a practical matter, therefore, the Hayden resolution is meaningless.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. I should like to make this observation. I have often thought that compromise and patience are two of the hardest virtues to acquire. I know they have been exceedingly difficult attributes for me to attain. I am inclined to believe if we could get the chair to rule that the present cloture rule applies to a motion to amend the journal and to take up a bill, we would have made immense progress.

The second thing is this: Frankly, with the rules of the Senate as they are today, and with the sentiment of the men we know as determined as it is, they do not think they are making any sacrifice if they filibuster the whole session of the Congress to prevent amendment of the rules so as to give the majority power to take up anything. They are not going to be defeated at home by doing that kind of thing. They will be heroes in their states when they do it. It will be some of the rest of us who will be taking the licks in our home areas.

The third thing is, I doubt very seriously if it is possible to amend the rules of the Senate without losing the whole session of Congress.

The fourth thing is, if we make this amendment so that two-thirds have control of the Senate business and the Senate calendar at all times, then with all the momentum we have behind the civil-rights program it will be possible to enact this legislation in this Congress.

MR. RAUH. Senator, I do not think you seriously mean,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do you, that the Senate could invoke two-thirds cloture half a dozen times during this Congress? It may be that you could pull it off for one bill, but we are talking about a civil-rights program of half a dozen or more bills on which the Democratic Party won this election.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. It will depend largely on how the Republicans vote.

MR. RAUH. Don't you think it would be easier to muster two-thirds of the Senate votes in one major drive to cut off debate and enact a resolution for a majority vote of cloture than to rely on getting two-thirds on each of a half-dozen or more different bills? That is really the issue. Should we not put all our effort for a simple majority of the Senate to cut off a filibuster on every bill, rather than go through the fight to win two-thirds of the Senate first on anti-lynching, then on anti-poll-tax, then on FEPC and so on whenever a civil-rights measure hits the Senate floor? ADA urges that this fight for majority rule be made at the very first possible moment. We will need all possible strength in this battle for majority cloture and I am confident we can count on wholehearted labor support.

MR. KEENAN. The labor people are going to be concerned about the Taft-Hartley Act, and all the other groups, the housing group and everybody else, are going to be concerned about getting their jobs done. There is a very great danger, if you start this thing, you will get these people fighting among themselves.

MR. DUDLEY. Mr. Chairman, it is true that the labor people certainly want Taft-Hartley repealed, and repealed quickly, but we are also tremendously involved in the civil-rights and Senate-rules problem, and we are committed to our membership to do everything possible to get these various civil-rights bills passed and the Senate rules changed, however it may come.

I am inclined to agree with Leslie Perry, that although passing a bill for two-thirds majority may seem like a great achievement for one who has struggled with these archaic rules in the Senate, it is not much progress considering where you ought to be.

MR. PERRY. I have not seen the final figures on the Negro vote for last November. However, preliminary estimates indicate that about 75 percent of the Negroes in this country who voted, voted for Harry S. Truman. They voted for him largely on the basis of his courageous espousal of civil rights. It is also interesting to note that in states like Ohio and California, which clinched Truman's victory, a shift in a small fraction of the Negro vote would have brought about a different story. Truman carried Ohio by a vote of 7,107. Preliminary estimates showed that of the 9,625 Negro votes cast in Akron, where the Negro population is comparatively small, Truman received 6,342. Or take California. There Truman's margin was 17,865. In Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas' district alone the President received 25,028 of the 35,323 Negro votes cast.

I say that in order to say this: If the Administration is going to keep its campaign promises on civil rights, the Administration must get prompt and speedy hearings on each of the civil-rights bills (as it is working to do on the Taft-Hartley repealer) with a view to getting all of them on the House and Senate calendars before spring. That is the Administration's responsibility. We can, and will, help, but the Administration must take the lead.

Unless these civil-rights bills are brought to the floor for action by March or April they are going to get caught in the crush of foreign-aid legislation, appropriation bills, and so forth. And it will be the same old story over again —civil rights being called up only at the tail end of the session when the opposition can filibuster it to death.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Mr. Perry, I know it is the sentiment of the President and the majority leaders over there in the Congress, in the Senate, to want to put the program through completely and to want to revise the rules of the Senate so that democracy may prevail in the Senate, but at the same time the Administration has committed itself to the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, to federal aid to education, to housing, to improving social-security benefits, and we have the best opportunity we have ever had in this country to put over a vast social-progress program.

Almost everybody who tries to do good has to take into consideration the practicalities of the situation, and that is one of the things we are discussing here today: How can we most effectively, as a practical matter, put over all these things we are interested in?

MR. WHITNEY. Of course, the civil-rights program is highly controversial. It is something that we should have. It is right in line with the Constitution of the United States. I want to say this, perhaps selfishly, that on account of its being so desperately controversial, I feel that we should not throw it or anything else into the hopper right off the bat if it is going to break down our strength in the Congress.

There has been a distinct change in the attitude of the people in this country toward civil rights in the past five years. The very wonderful fight that Senator Humphrey put up in the Democratic National Convention last July brought out a vote in that convention that surprised a good many people. The attitude that the President has taken—what we might term a fearless attitude on civil liberties—is outstanding but I would not want to see that matter shoved to the front and lost and take the chance of losing a lot of other laudable proposals in the way of legislation.

MR. ROOSEVELT. It is a question of very cold-blooded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assessment of priorities. My personal feeling is that we should put civil right about No. 3 on the list. The first thing that should be done is repeal of Taft-Hartley, there is no question about that. I also feel that we can get the housing bill through without wasting time or energy or much of a fight. Then I would say that we should go to the people on this basis: These are the other points in our program, but we are going to hold them up until we get through our civil-rights program, and if the minority in the Senate filibuster on the civil-rights program, then they will also be responsible for sacrificing social security and all the rest of it.

MR. TYLER. There has been too much boasting by individual groups about how they won the election. Actually, the victory was a collective effort. A conscious and unconscious alliance of labor, farmer, housewife, Negro, consumer, teacher, veteran gained the victory. I think that each special-interest group ought to stop shouting about the way "I" won the victory and start telling how "we" won the election.

There is a real danger in each group thinking that it won the electoral war single-handed. As each special-interest group wins its piece of legislation in the 81st Congress, the group may tend to withdraw from the political battle. Some unions, for instance, may relax after Taft-Hartley repeal and allow rust to gather on political machinery that should be well-oiled. Veterans may tend to relax if decent housing legislation goes through. The consumer may lose interest in politics if prices are stabilized. As each group withdraws from the field of battle, the fight becomes so much tougher for those who remain to continue the struggle for a full liberal program. I consider that a real danger.

Unless we can maintain the continuing interest of all elements in pushing through a full liberal legislative program, we may find in 1950 that some of the disappointed elements will withdraw from the common front for progress. That may be reaction's chance to return to power to endanger all advances with another 80th Congress!

A Liberal Southern View

AT THIS POINT the discussion on civil rights was picked up by the two soft-spoken representatives of the Truman Democrats from South Carolina, Dr. Maxie Collins and David Baker. Dr. Collins warned against playing ball with the States' Righters for the sake of their aid in organizing the Senate or House, or the hope of their support for the Administration program.

DR. COLLINS. We cannot establish a two-party system in South Carolina or in Mississippi, Alabama, or Louisiana, or Georgia, unless there is a real movement on the part of the national leadership to support our efforts toward a two-party system.

CHAIRMAN PEPPER. Let me observe that I am in hearty accord with you. You know what my attitude and my record has been with respect to the people you describe. I want the South to be one of the most liberal parts of the country, as it should be. I am pretty sure if we could stop the filibuster on motion to amend the journal or motion to take up, we could pass the anti-poll-tax bill without any question. If we could pass the anti-poll-tax bill, it would enfranchise a great many Negroes and poorer white people throughout the South, as it did in Florida, and as it did in Louisiana, and as it has done in other states, and would give the liberal a better chance to function in the political life of those states.

If Senator Barkley sees fit to rule with us, we can pretty surely get the anti-lynching bill passed by Congress. If you got this accomplished at one session of the Congress, that would certainly be enormous progress.

DR. COLLINS. I agree in general, Senator, with what you say, and, of course, we are for human rights and hope that you can do these things which advance human rights. Taking the long view, I would like for Congress and the national leadership of the party to realize that there is absolutely no possibility ever of compromise or reconciliation with the extreme reactionaries of these states I have mentioned.

MR. BAKER. May I say a few words about civil rights? I think that I shall part from the company of the liberals by the statement that I shall make next. Dr. Collins and myself have been engaged in a fight in South Carolina for what we believe are human rights and decency in government.

I greatly fear the results in the South of any congressional action along the lines of FEPC and anti-segregation. The position of the liberals in the South would be jeopardized by such legislation. Their living conditions and the restrictions on their freedom of movement would make it intolerable to be considered a liberal. The vast majority of the Southern people are decent-minded and good-intentioned; they are liberal in their outlook on problems involving business, labor, farm, and practically every issue except the race issue. In due time I believe they will come around, even on that issue. But as a prerequisite to the attainment of that goal, there must be a continuation and acceleration of the spiritual and educational uplift that is now in the South.

I have talked to many people in my state and have tried to line them up for President Truman; we were successful in getting some 35,000 votes out of 140,000 that were cast. We succeeded in doing this despite the fact that the party organization and machinery were taken over by the Dixiecrats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But I want to put this thought to you. We are dealing in practicalities, but from a moral viewpoint we have got to work for civil and human rights for all peoples everywhere. In our fight we must not destroy what we have gained. If we proceed now to force the issue on civil rights without laying the proper educational foundation, we stand to lose the many hard-fought-for gains that have been won in the last 50 years. We must and shall move forward, but let us be sure of our ground.

DR. COLLINS. There is, of course, a very real basis for what Dave is saying, but I think what he is saying is true largely because the laboring people of the South do not know what the FEPC is. You need an educational campaign. For instance, the average working man in the South thinks that if you pass the FEPC, they are going to fire him and hire a Negro to put in his place. He did not accidentally come to that conception. It has been fostered and nurtured and cultivated and developed all through the years since the depression. For instance, when white people were making 75 cents a day in South Carolina and Negroes were making 25 cents a day, they would say to the white person, "All right, quit if you want to and we will get a Negro to do it for less than we pay you."

Race prejudice has been used as a means of keeping organized labor out of the South. What is bothering Dave is that if national legislation is adopted, without adequate educational preparation of the laboring people in the South, it may precipitate further race tensions and riots and the Ku Klux Klan, and all of that stuff, whereas with some educational preparation, so that they would know what it is all about, they would possibly accept it.

¶ Perry of the NAACP sounded a note of warning about civil-rights legislation that would be meaningless. Abolishing the poll tax by means of a constitutional amendment fell into this category. So did the Department of Justice proposals to prosecute officers for neglect of duty in lynchings, rather than the lynchers themselves.

At this point Representative Douglas spoke up with passionate eloquence about the Democrat Party's responsibility in the fight for human rights.

No Compromise on Civil Rights

MRS. DOUGLAS. I am convinced that the Democratic Party received the support of the majority of the people at the recent election because of the stand that was taken on civil rights at the Democratic convention. People expected the Democratic Party to go on record against the Taft-Hartley Act; they expected the Democratic Party to go on record for the health bill, aid to education, etc. The question of where the Democratic Party stood as a party on human rights was not clearly defined.

The electric reaction around the country to the Democratic convention came because of our stand on civil rights. The Democratic Party was willing to stand or fall on that crucial vote. The majority of delegates to the convention were willing, because of deep convictions, to risk the destruction of their party by forcing a vote on civil rights; for had we lost the vote for the more liberal plank on civil rights, there would be no Democratic Party today.

The fight for human rights is never easy at any time, in any Congress. The time is never propitious. The stage is never set.

Whether civil rights should come first or second or third on the legislative calendar is a matter of strategy for the Senate, and I would not presume to suggest where it should come. That it should come right at the top of the list, of that I am certain. That the fight should be made so that it is as real and as honest and as forthright as the fight that was made at the convention, of that I am also sure. If we are to wait for the ideal time, we will never act. I have been in the South, and I have the deepest sympathy for the struggle that men like Dr. Collins and Mr. Baker are making there and a deep appreciation of the leadership they are giving not only to the South but to the rest of the country as well.

But the extension of rights to minority groups affects more than just the South—it affects the entire country. I do not think we can hedge on this question. It is fundamental. If democracy is successfully to combat communism in the world today, we must mean what we say about human rights, extend them at home where they are not fully shared and work to promote them in large and numerous areas

"The fight for human rights is never easy . . ." STRAIGHT, MRS. DOUGLAS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the world where they are not at present enjoyed.

Mr. Perry talked about the vote of the Negroes in the recent election. I am convinced we would not have a Democratic President today if it had not been for the Negroes. I know that in the state of California, the majority vote for the president was 17,865. The majority we gave him in my district was nearly 25,000, and approximately 22,000 of the 25,000 were Negro votes.

I want to say this about the minority groups. They act less like pressure groups than any I know in the country. There was never in their support at any time even the intimation of a bargain that had to be arrived at in order to obtain their support. It is not because they voted for us that we must support the President's civil-rights program now. We must support it because it is right to do so. We are not the democracy we talk about unless we allow each human being equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

If this Congress passes every other piece of legislation and fails on human rights, we are going to lose the great, spontaneous support of liberals in this country, of that I am perfectly convinced.

MR. PERRY. I would like to say just one other thing. As an evidence of good faith on the part of the Administration, we ought to get committee reports on all of this civil-rights legislation at the earliest possible date with the view to having them on the calendar certainly before spring comes in, or by spring, and that is going to be an Administration responsibility, because the chairman of the Senate Rules Committee is not going to move unless he gets the order to go down the line, and that is true in the House.

MR. DUDLEY. To try to bring it to a head, would it be fair to say it is the consensus of this group (a) that we agree with Helen Douglas' statement; (b) that the bills ought to be put on the calendar of the respective House as soon as possible; and (c) that at least a substantial part of the program should be passed by Congress during this fiscal year? It ought to be done before the appropriations bills come up; in other words, you do not get into an appropriation rush and say, "We have to appropriate and we will postpone the civil liberties." If it comes to that, we will put the civil liberties ahead of appropriations business. That will give a drive to the civil-liberties program.

A Liberal Farm Program

BEN STONG suggested any liberal program should include agriculture and that, in the absence of direct farm-organization spokesmen, he would like to get some farm matters into the record. While farmers do not claim they won the election alone, a lot of people agreed on election night that they were an important factor.

Progressive farm groups, including the Farmers' Union, are asking 100-percent support prices for family farmers. This needs understanding. The request is to support prices at full parity *up to a good family income* only, and let production which exceeds that point go unsupported or flex downward. It is thus *not* a request for 100-percent supports for overly large, commercial farm output.

These support-price demands are said by some to conflict with labor and consumer desire for low food and clothing prices, but do not conflict with their real interests. Good farm income is essential to a good economy. Farmers and labor need to get together for an attack on processing and distributing costs. Stong suggested that both build coöperatives, separately and jointly, to establish yardstick operations in the field. Investment bankers have merged the New York dairy industry into four or five companies serving the city, and jacked up prices. "By contrast," he said, "a producer-consumer milk coöperative is selling two cents below established price per quart and makes savings regularly." He advised seeking a pool of federal funds to finance a substantial number of coöperatives.

Farmer and labor should join in support of monopoly investigations of food and clothing, he felt.

Farmers want restoration of food-storage facilities which the 80th Congress required the Commodity Credit Corporation to sell, he said, this time preferably in the hands of (1) individuals, (2) farmer co-ops and (3) the government. There should be enough storage built to permit stocking of crops and orderly marketing around the calendar, instead of a 30-to-60-day rush each harvest season. This would minimize speculation, help stabilize prices and narrow the gap between farmer and consumer.

Labor should take a hand with farmers in seeing that surpluses do not accumulate. If people have adequate diets, he said, there would be no surpluses. If we contribute to foreign needs we could even use increased production. Labor should help farmers pass measures like the Aiken food-allotment plan to assure proper diets. Adequate food and clothing is comparable to adequate medical care. Labor should also insist that the Secretary of Agriculture have the power to resell all commodities acquired by the Department in support of price operations at the prices paid. Such authority would have permitted him to sell potatoes to housewives at real savings, instead of dumping them at a $150 million loss to the government.

Stong said farmers want valley developments; that they represent a "package" of desired things,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

including more irrigation water, protection from floods, relief from the electric-power shortage and high rates, relief from the fertilizer shortage and high costs, and navigation facilities to provide relief from high freight costs.

Farmers would like to see the insurance business investigated, as suggested by Robert Nathan. They are beginning to realize that enormous sums of capital are siphoned out of farm areas and that the companies are ceasing to return it as farm loans, but using it to build stronger and bigger monopolies.

Social Welfare Bills

SENATOR PEPPER said he had to leave, but before turning the chair over to Michael Straight he thought the group would be interested to hear what the legislative situation was in education, health and social security. He anticipated that a bill on federal aid to education would go to the Senate floor promptly, although the issue of allocating funds to private or parochial schools was still unresolved.

He said that along with Senators Murray and Humphrey he had conferred with Oscar Ewing, the Federal Security Administrator, about health legislation. The health program that they had agreed to try to obtain in this Congress would include: increasing the federal share for hospital construction from one-third to one-half; federal aid for enlarging existing medical and dental schools and establishing new ones; provision of ampler training facilities for nurses; increasing public health services throughout the country at the field level; finally, putting into effect as rapidly as possible a national health-insurance program. Such a program would be limited at first by the availability of doctors, dentists, nurses and hospital facilities, but it was Ewing's informal opinion that even in the first year a health-insurance plan could be put into effect with respect to the services of general practitioners.

Senator Pepper said he wanted to make one more observation before he left.

SENATOR PEPPER. It will please you, as it pleased Senator Hill and me, on the subject of social security to hear the rather favorable opinion that Senator George, now chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, expressed the other day toward the idea of providing a minimum, uniform, federal old-age-assistance payment. He knows that in the poorer states of the country the federal monies are not matched fully. The richer states do match the federal contribution. Their people, therefore, get far more federal money than the people in the poorer states in the same category.

Some of us have felt for a long time that an old-age pension should basically be equal all over the country.

Also, to my pleasant surprise, Senator George spoke rather sympathetically about the elimination of a means test. He says that the means test is humiliating, is expensive to administer, and denies a lot of people the assistance they deserve.

My own thought is to have a minimum federal old-age payment, whether it is $25 or $30—whatever it is—let the states supplement that by whatever amount they want to, then improve our old-age and survivors'-insurance program along the line the President has recommended by something like 50 percent. Add that to what the unions can get through collective bargaining from their employers and what we can do in the insurance field, and we will build up toward where a person who has had a normal working life should be able to get somewhere around $100 a month, or $125, or maybe $150.

¶ Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, an expert in the field of social security, unfortunately was unable to attend the conference. However, after reading the stenographic transcript, he made the following comment on the social-security problems facing the 81st Congress.

SENATOR DOUGLAS. As you know, the Administration bill has not yet been written for social security, but I am confident that it will be forthcoming early in this session.

The original law, passed in 1935, was a good law. The real problem is that it was passed in a period of low prices, and payments are not nearly enough at the present time. Also, we need to extend this protection to cover more people.

The Republican 80th Congress was, as President Truman said, a "do-nothing" Congress. However, I'm sure he intended this term to mean, do nothing for the people, because the 80th Congress did do plenty for the benefit of a privileged few. Concerning social security, they took about three-quarters of a million people out from under its protection for the sake of a few employers.

The Democratic 81st Congress will do everything possible not only to restore to protection these people eliminated by the 80th Congress, but to broaden the coverage even further and to increase payments necessary because of higher living costs.

Perhaps there may be a few Southern Democrats who will oppose this program, but I believe we can count on support from some of the less reactionary Republicans to get a good measure through.

I would like to add just a word about old-age pensions and annuities. Some of my constituents have suggested

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the term "federal retirement pay" be used to avoid any stigma of charity.

I not only agree with this, but feel that there is some misconception about these payments which should be cleared up. Too many people, including some liberals, favor old-age pensions because they feel sorry for the old folks who can no longer compete with the youngsters. They take pity on them and feel they should be given aid. This smacks of charity and loss of dignity for the recipients of these payments.

In my opinion, charity has nothing to do with these payments. A person who has reached the age of 65 has usually worked a period of from 35 to 45 years, and by his work has *contributed substantially* to the economic well-being of society. Thus, society *owes* the government's share of payments to these people—it doesn't just contribute. It is a payment of a *debt* and not a charitable gift.

I believe that this should be borne in mind both in considering immediate social-security legislation and in considering its long-range aspects.

II. A POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM

Lessons of the '48 Campaign

STRAIGHT SUGGESTED that the conference move on to the whole problem of organization and asked the participants to state what they felt were the lessons of the 1948 campaign. There was general agreement that the effectiveness of the attack on the record of the 80th Congress had demonstrated that the voters were sensitive to program and issues. Equally important had been the day-to-day, door-to-door job of registration and getting out the vote. It was suggested that the national political-action machines not be demobilized but turn their attention in off-election years to municipal contests and serve as mechanisms for keeping the voter informed on issues in Congress and state legislatures. Methods by which to break the stranglehold of the conservative farm groups on the rank-and-file farmer were brought out. Experiences with the Democratic Party were carefully analyzed.

The AFL in setting up Labor's League for Political Education had taken an unprecedented step in the field of political action, and the group turned to its director, Joseph Keenan, for his evaluation of the LLPE's work.

MR. KEENAN. The first thing we discovered in the American Federation of Labor program was the lack of interest by our people, and also the low percentage of people registered and eligible to vote. In the city of Newark we have a mayor, Vince Murphy, who has been business agent of his own union for 25 years, and he has been secretary of the State Federation of Labor for 12 or 13 years. Two years ago he was the candidate for Governor of the state of New Jersey. He had the complete support of all of the labor groups and all the liberal groups, the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and even the independent union of telephone workers, and they thought with the membership they had, and with the members of their families, the fight would be a cinch and he figured he would win by 200,000 votes. The election came along and he lost by 200,000 votes.

Being the Mayor of Newark and a political fellow, he wanted to make an analysis of what had happened. He started in his own union. He got the secretary to go out and check with the poll lists to see just how his membership voted. When he got into the records, he found only 25 percent of his people were registered, and only about 30 percent of that 25 voted. So he used this as a basis for his inquiry, and being secretary of the State Federation of Labor, he went to Newark and was responsible, with the other groups, for registering 45,000 people. In the adjoining county they registered 45,000 more.

We carried that on all through the country, and we found we had to get our people registered. They are no good to us unless they are on the books so they can vote.

We did not do a very good job. We had to go into the states and set up skeleton organizations. Some states were more enthusiastic than others.

Where we had the support of the state officers, we went to town. Ohio is a typical example. Phil Hanna went all through the state. In Pennsylvania the two officers there went all through the state. In West Virginia, in Indiana, in Wisconsin, in Minnesota, in Wyoming, in Montana, in those particular states where the results showed the effort, it proved that we could do the job.

I will say that a great percentage of the officers of the American Federation of Labor felt we did not have a chance, but every place you went, people would say, "I am going to vote for Truman; he hasn't got a chance"; and we felt that was the general sentiment among the working people and if we could get them into the polling place and get them in the booth, they would vote OK.

¶ The CIO's PAC had not been an issue in the 1948 campaign as it had been in 1944, but its work had been equally if not more effective.

MR. DUDLEY. It seems to me that the three lessons we have learned out of this last campaign were these: The first one I want to give you is a personal message from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

". . . they are not interested in sell-outs." DUDLEY, STONG

Jack Kroll, whom I am representing here. Jack says that he is more and more convinced in every campaign that we have to rely less on the propaganda and the publicity and the glamor and more on a complete, detailed organization of every single member and his wife. We do not care too much about the newspapers and the radio. It is nice to have them on our side, but the thing that counts is to know where every single member lives, whether or not he is registered, who is going to be sure that he gets to the polling place.

Jack wanted me to emphasize to you that not only labor but other organizations have to get into the field of active politics in the sense of getting out the vote—not just the literature and the stuff that is written and said. It is the voting membership in every liberal organization that counts. If they get the votes out, they win; if they do not, they are nice people but ineffective.

The second point we have learned is that the last election was won by a lot of groups, all of which were essential to the complete victory. Many of these groups were consciously working together, but some of us were working together unconsciously. I refer to the fact that the farmers and the labor people ended up supporting the same people but without much of a liaison between them.

For example, we knew the laboring people were going to vote for Truman and the Democratic ticket, generally speaking, but we did not know what the farmers were going to do. There is a liaison that ought to be improved, and there are indications from the Farm Bureau and from the Grange, as well as from the Farmers' Union, indicating that they, too, want closer liaison with the other liberal groups. They realize that their economic and their political interests are generally the same as ours. So, I want to emphasize the importance of all these groups realizing that each was essential to the victory and that each will be essential to the next victory. We have to work together. Of course, Mike, you have contributed a great deal to that by calling this meeting today.

The third point I want to emphasize—and I say this every time I get a chance—is that when we have a really liberal program, we win. This victory of getting a really liberal platform such as we had, and winning on it, is a great tribute to the people of the United States. The danger that confronts us now is that, having won, we may start compromising.

We have to realize that the people of this country are New Deal people. The people of this country are really interested in doing something for the whole country and they are not interested in sell-outs. As soon as we start to compromise, whether it be today or tomorrow or in this Congress or another Congress, we will lose, and we will deserve to lose.

¶ The seasoned leader of the Railroad Trainmen, A. F. Whitney, entered some caustic observations about labor leaders who lined up with reactionaries.

MR. WHITNEY. Mr. Chairman, the ground has been fairly well covered, except that we cannot get away from the fact that we have some renegade leadership in labor, and that is due to the fact that the membership failed to go to lodge and failed to take an interest in politics or anything else except work. For instance, in Connecticut, the officers of my legislative board, four of them, declined to endorse Chester Bowles for Governor. I wanted to make a contribution to his campaign and they would not concur. The net result was that I had to hold the matter in abeyance and I made the contribution after the election. (Laughter.)

In Illinois, my board took a neutral position between Governor Green and Adlai Stevenson. I attended a meeting there with them and I said, "You have endorsed Truman and Barkley; you have endorsed the Democratic Party; you have endorsed Douglas for the Senate against Curly Brooks. What do you want to do, weaken the whole structure by taking a neutral position in the Governor's race? That is tragic, because Green is controlled by Colonel McCormick and the Chicago *Tribune*. He made the keynote address at the Republican National Convention. He applauded the Taft-Hartley law. Are you fellows union men, or what are you?" I could not budge them. Evidently they had been offered some legislation by Governor Green, and I could not do a thing about it.

We had a similar situation to begin with in Minnesota but, fortunately, we were able to change the personnel of the board and we got support for the liberals in Minnesota.

I believe that we have got a little house cleaning to do in these labor organizations, and I do not have all the renegades, either. You have some of them in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AFL and CIO. I think that we ought to begin to inculcate these principles into membership, start right now to get ready for 1950.

¶ The youthful director of the ILGWU's Political Department rounded out labor's discussion of the 1948 campaign.

MR. TYLER. Before stating the concrete conclusions about what labor has learned from this campaign, I should like to submit two prefatory conclusions:

First, if we can have an 80th Congress every sixteen years, we will keep America liberal.

Second, there has been so much phony talk about synthetic grass roots that when we came across the real thing we didn't recognize it. I am persuaded that much of the election victory was organized by nobody. Many little nobodies just went to the polls and voted from their hearts.

As to lessons in the methodology of campaigning, I feel that labor's past and future contributions can best be examined against the background of the four major facets of election work:

First, *registration*. Here labor did a top-flight job, turning out 100 percent of its adherents to register in many localities.

Second, *getting out the vote on Election Day*. Here labor did much better than in the past but not as well as in registration. The reasons are (a) that there is less time to turn out the vote than there is to turn out for registration; (b) that labor is strongest in applying pressures through the shop but weakest in precinct machinery, the *sine qua non* of effective work on Election Day.

Third, *directing the vote at the polls*. To make certain that the voter does not merely vote but also votes for the right thing and the right candidate requires a tightly meshed precinct organization.

Fourth, *working in the primary*. This is the weakest link in the labor political chain. In addition to the fact that labor is still in its infant state (so far as precinct politics is concerned) there is the usual lack of interest in the primary fight. Nevertheless, labor did go into both party primaries to win significant victories.

All this adds up to three over-all conclusions: first, the shop organization is good for education, agitation and registration; second, the neighborhood organization must be built up to turn out the vote, direct the vote, and win primary battles; third, to build the precinct and ward machine requires all-year-round effort and cannot be accomplished simply by asking loyal unionists in the shop to become loyal campaigners in the wards.

¶ The viewpoint of the organization which spearheaded the civil-rights fight at the Democratic National Convention was expressed by the chairman of its executive committee.

MR. RAUH. It seems to us in the ADA that probably the most important lesson from this campaign was the labor contribution—this was the first time that all labor organizations got in there and pitched—but without detracting in any way from that, I think we have to recognize that an issue was handed the labor movement which in all probability will not be in the next campaign. The real problem for 1950 is the program of keeping the liberal coalition as active politically as it was in 1948.

We have to weigh how we can keep and strengthen the coalition. In the first place, as far as the farm vote was concerned, in large centers it went the same way as the labor vote, but without any real coördination.

But even on the labor side during this election, things were not quite as perfect as it might be thought at a superficial glance. There were plenty of places where the labor people were in opposite camps. There were even governorships where that occurred. We have to strive, it seems to us, for the kind of situation that we had in Massachusetts, and that is a good working example of what we can do, with the present split-up in the labor movement; it is the optimum arrangement. There, there was actually a signed legal contract between the different labor groups and the ADA, which pooled the funds and provided for the different jobs to be done, and they were done, and they were done in Massachusetts despite the fact that there were some differences of opinion between the groups. For example, the ADA was not for backing Dever; the labor people were; but despite that fact, they worked together, and it seems to us that our job, if we are going to win in 1950, is to improve and add to this labor-liberal coalition.

MRS. DOUGLAS. I think we won this campaign because of the record of the 80th Congress; because it fell so far short of what the American people wanted and needed. Therefore, since we will be the ones in charge of the program of the next Congress, the 81st Congress, we will win or lose according to our record. We start with that. You cannot get people excited about something when you have nothing to sell, and we will be just as vulnerable as the Republicans were unless we put through a program that makes sense and that lives up to the promises and commitments we made.

MR. STONG. The Farmers' Union and the Grange want the Farm Bureau and the Extension Service separated at this session of Congress. Their relationship has resulted in use of government funds to build the Bureau, which is reactionary and fights liberal measures and candidates.

In the last election, for example, they fought President Truman and Hubert Humphrey.

In Minnesota, just before the election, publicly paid county agents were busy conducting the Farm Bureau membership campaign while the Farm Bureau devoted its time to campaigning for Dewey and Ball. Farm Bu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reau leaders endorsed the two GOP candidates in hundreds of ads run in the daily and weekly press.

As a result of its close association with "master farmers" who get in the Farm Bureau, the Extension Service ignores disadvantaged farmers who need help most. It confines itself to the technology of agriculture—making two blades of grass grow where one grew before—and has not made farmers aware of economic and social forces which concern them as much as production techniques.

As a matter of equity among organizations, it is improper for a $75 million governmental agency to organize and perform other chores for a single farm organization.

A lot of famers switched from Dewey to Truman after Harold Stassen made his blundering statement about high food prices. But normally most of them would have been "held in line" by the reactionary philosophy taught them by the Farm Bureau. It is in the interests of liberal programs to stop public employees from pulling farmers together for a reactionary organization to pump them full of anti-labor, anti-liberal propaganda.

An act will be introduced in Congress to stop payment of matching funds to state Extension Services which do Farm Bureau chores. It should have the backing of every fair-minded person and every liberal group.

Legislative Stewards

MR. TYLER. I would like to throw out this idea just to get the reaction of some of the other people who are working on the organizational level. Congress is in session. We have many workers in our shop who are active in the neighborhood. We yanked them out and we said, "Be a watcher. Be a precinct worker." We gave them assignments, literature to distribute, meetings to hold.

What do we do with these people now? Unless we can provide activity, the machinery is going to fall apart. We will concentrate on building up the geographic organization, but what can be done in the plant to keep interest alive? We in the ILGW are launching one venture. We are thinking in terms of setting up legislative stewards in every plant. This is not on a geographic basis now; this is in addition to the precinct club.

The legislative steward gets direction and guidance from some person, either in the national office, or in the regional, or in the local. The guidance will be in terms of what is before Congress. We say to the legislative steward: "There is a civil-rights bill before Congress; there is a housing bill before Congress; etc. It is your job to keep informed. At lunch hour, can't you, when this bill is before Congress, get a few people in your plant to write a postcard? Or maybe you can have a 'round robin' telegram go down to a congressman or to the head of some committee—at any rate, some kind of activity which keeps the political interest alive at the bottom and keeps the spotlight on Congress so far as these people are actually concerned."

In order to keep activity going, I used as a first device "The State of the Union" supplement that the *New Republic* put out. I find it is the simplest short statement and explanation of the President's message. It sets forth the background and the arguments. I hand it to a business agent who often does not have time to read, although his political heart is good, and say to him, "Look, just keep this on file; when housing comes up and you want to go before a shop and state your case, here it is; it is put succinctly and it is essentially what the President wants and what the Administration wants, and we are behind it." This is a way of keeping your paid leadership informed. They pass the information on to the shop stewards—the legislative stewards, preferably—and they bring it to the attention of the people.

MR. BIEMILLER. I have a speech that I make constantly. I am not going to make the whole speech but I want to direct your attention to what I call the "3F's" that are tremendously important in any campaign: Facts, Funds, and Footwork.

We have just been hearing from the ILGW, for example, on their plans for getting facts to their membership, and that, I agree, is the field where the shop legislative-steward system is most useful. Certainly you can use that machinery for getting information around.

Funds have not been mentioned yet and I know that is a touchy subject, but I might suggest we know from experience in this campaign what funds mean, and I think funds should become more and more all-year-round activity. There were one or two districts in Wisconsin where I am sure $1,000 or $2,000 extra would have given us another Representative in the House. It just wasn't there.

But of all three of these F's, the one that I, like many others, feel the most strongly about is the question of footwork. I get irritated in every campaign by the number of people who are willing to come around and make long, scholarly, dull, pompous speeches about our relations with Russia but will not come around to do the unspectacular work at the headquarters. There are all kinds of things that come under footwork. I use the term loosely. It means more than doorbell pushing, important as that job is in any election.

I am talking about such tasks as sticking address labels on newspapers. Most of you know what it means to get out 150,000 newspapers addressed to homes. That is a job that wins elections and that is where you need people.

Of course, there are many other important projects. I remember in my campaign this year that Local 75 of the UAW and its Ladies' Auxiliary took on the specific project of baby-sitting on Election Day and I think it was worth a thousand votes to us, just that one project

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alone. There were baby-sitters available and the result was young mothers went to vote because they were not worried about leaving the kids at home for 30 or 40 minutes. We also had cars to take them to the polls. You win or lose by hard, unspectacular work.

¶ The need for backing up liberal demands with effective research was emphasized by Dewey Anderson who had sparked the TNEC investigation into business concentration and monopoly.

MR. ANDERSON. That trilogy, the 3-F trilogy of Facts, Funds and Footwork, strikes home with me, although I wish Andy had elaborated the use of facts.

Anyone who went through the New Deal as I did in this town, in the TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee), which was so prolonged and difficult an investigation, would know that the New Deal was a combination of elements, not the least of which were some darned fine, intelligent young men around the town—young then, they are all older now—who gave their brains and the accumulated knowledge and the training that went with it to a cause.

Here I am, not a very good example of it, but one who comes from that particular background of training, throwing in my lot, for good or for ill, all the way with labor and farmers, just as did Bob Nathan.

We get licked in Congress and out of Congress repeatedly by the Bob Tafts because we do not draw as much water as they do. Time after time, we just have not got the equipment they bring to an issue. We have not yet learned the importance of spending money on the practical-action type of research.

The NAM and the railroads probably spent several hundred thousand dollars getting ready for the Reed-Bulwinkle fight, and they spent heavily on research leading to publicity, leading to the formation of public opinion, so that a logical case was presented. When that case got onto the floor, it was so dressed up, in such logical reasoning, that it looked to be a benefit bestowed upon the people, and that anybody voting against Reed-Bulwinkle was voting against the public interest. That is what the opposition does to us every time.

We will not go any faster or farther than the program of factual research we develop. One of the things that was pitiful to me to watch during this campaign, and to have a little share in, was the weakness of the Democratic National Committee's research program. It almost did not exist. It was hammered into a structure of some kind, was put together here quickly, and the group did the best it could. The Democratic campaign forces threw a few crumbs to it, and I heard from many people out on the firing line that the stuff was not in the most effective, usable form.

To me, that is a great pity. Fortunately, within the trade-union movement they have begun to realize the importance of this kind of assembling of data that present the facts.

The organization I work for was brought into existence, and could not exist today except for the substantial contribution that Mr. Whitney, in his statesmanlike understanding of problems of this kind, has put into the Public Affairs Institute.

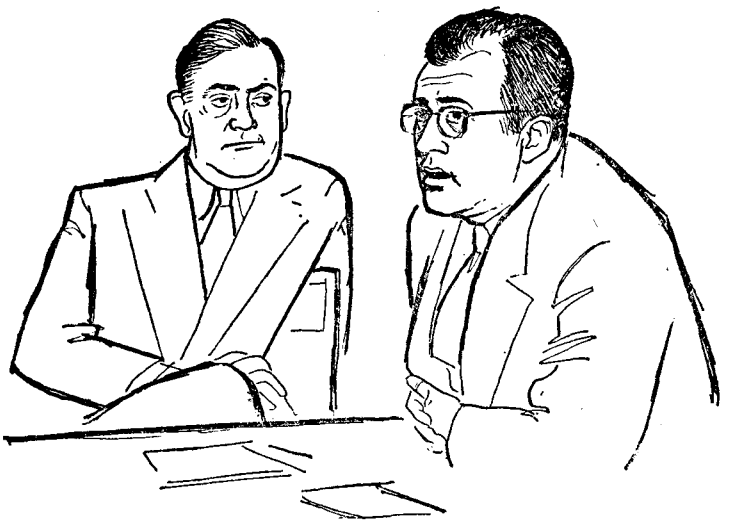
We are trying to establish what we call a "liberal" Brookings Institution in Washington to make the kind of contribution it has made for the conservatives. We are here and, with a dozen experts, are ready to serve members of Congress and organizations with the facts on the issues where we have special ability.

In the last six months of the 80th Congress we handled research for about 40 people. We did almost 100 pieces of research that required papers—papers from two to eight pages in length.

Some of the research was really fundamental to the discussions in the last Congress. We paced the Taft-Hartley thing. The facts for the Minority Report of the Watchdog Committee, of which you labor people bought something over 100,000 copies, were assembled in my shop and presented in the name of the minority, Senators Pepper and Murray, and Representatives Lesinski and Kelley. We have only begun to scratch the surface and the demand upon our time is overwhelming.

Every trend of history is in the liberal direction, but we have to be able to put the issues in practical terms so that our candidates are loaded with the materials that state the case as we want it put. We need the facts on complicated issues put simply so that all the people can understand them.

MR. DUDLEY. Dewey, do you think that each of us should develop research staffs and offices in our respective organizations, or should we attempt to centralize



"You win or lose by hard, unspectacular work." KEENAN, BIEMILLER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it? Have you any recommendations about such a point?

MR. ANDERSON. Research is a costly thing. Every agency probably has to have a small research unit to do the particular things that apply peculiarly to its work. But on many subjects huge savings will be made in time and money if we centralize our efforts. Where we spend $90,000 to $100,000 a year in the Public Affairs Institute, Brookings is now budgeting just under a half million dollars a year and working on a more limited-range program than we are.

MR. WHITNEY. Mr. Chairman, I am of the opinion that labor is spending millions of dollars in duplicating this work. Labor should have, or liberals should have, a research institute that can compete with Brookings, or surpass the services of Brookings, and one that will develop a reputation that it is factual, that it is not colored for labor nor colored for industry.

State and Municipal Politics

LOCAL GOVERNMENT affects the lives of people more intimately and continuously than any other level of government. It was the view of the round table that liberal political-action groups should turn their attention to state and municipal politics.

MR. KEENAN. Our big job from now on is, first to develop our state organizations. We will have to use the same technique in electing our friends to the state legislatures that we used in this last election to elect friends to Congress. The cheapest, most effective way to take these laws off the books in these 15 or 20 states that have restrictive laws is by repeal, and the only way we can hope to repeal them is by getting friendly people into the legislature.

MR. WHITNEY. I put out a circular to our boys telling them what they should expect in these state legislatures, that they should begin to bring about, as far as humanly possible, the repeal of these Taft-Hartley laws within the states and to become more powerful in the state legislatures. All those things start at the grass roots.

MR. TYLER. We ought to shift right down to the municipal level. When we begin to think in terms of municipal politics, we begin to think in terms of precinct organization and precinct machinery and patronage out of the city and the local government. That is the basis of the political machine in the United States.

MRS. DOUGLAS. If we can at long last arouse some interest in local elections, that will be a new day in American politics.

MR. DUDLEY. Mr. Chairman, may I put in the information here that there are over 550 city elections in 1949, a few federal, and not very many statewide elections, but some. The CIO-PAC has the names of those 550 cities.

MR. MULLEN. I come from a steel town and we have the biggest by-product coke works in the world and we supply all the coke to Carnegie-Illinois Steel. We had a nationwide strike a couple of years ago and of course when our coke works goes down, we do not have to bother about picketing any steel mill; they go down in two days; they have no fuel.

We have a large colored element in our town which works in the coke plant and they have no financial reserves. In a week or ten days, they are broke, so when the plant shut down, the city appropriated $50,000 to start with as a relief fund. The company figured that these boys were going to be hungry in a week or so and would go back to work. We set up $50,000 and publicized the fact that, if necessary, we would spend half a million dollars.

In a case like that, the police are down there making sure nobody picks on the pickets, and we are making sure that the boys are not starved into submission. I think it is very important on the local level.

MR. BIEMILLER. One of the great things that the liberals of this country are finally getting over is a fear that had been raised in the minds of American liberals by some of the reformers of the past, that a political machine *per se* is a bad thing. When I lived in Philadelphia 20 years ago, because of the smelliness of the Vare machine, everybody said, "We must not have machines."

Well, we had better have machines if we expect to win. We must get our own machines. We must get our people to recognize this is a year-round job. Then we can win elections handily.

MR. TYLER. May I add on that particular point that getting labor unity at the city level and county level is much tougher than getting labor unity around congressmen. You find where labor leaders are personally tied into politics all year round, they are tied in with local political groups. They can agree on a candidate for a national position, but when you get down to the municipal campaign, it is harder to crack the shell of traditional loyalties.

Nominating Good Candidates

MR. BOLLING. I understand that we have the largest liberal minority in the House that we have ever had in the history of the country. We must protect and increase the size of this group. There are a great many men in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the House today who can only be described as political accidents, people who I believe will make good Representatives and will have good voting records, but who got elected by default.

If liberal congressmen who were given the nomination in 1948 by local organizations who felt there was no chance of winning the seat are not to be picked off, and if maximum support for liberal legislation is to be mobilized on a continuing basis, the liberal coalition must concern itself with nominations and primaries.

I know of several situations where liberal congressmen are already being opposed by the organization. In most of those cases, I know that if the record justifies it and if labor-liberal groups work at it, they can ensure the renomination and reëlection of the people in question, but it is going to take time, money and effort which must be used year-round, starting now. The crucial question is —Will it be done?

MR. ROOSEVELT. We were terribly fortunate that we did come up with candidates such as we had in the last election, and, as Dick pointed out, it was in many cases a pure accident, but if we can impress on some of our national leaders, state leaders, the importance of good candidates, if labor can really go to work on the problem, really seek and demand qualified, capable candidates that the people will go for, then we will be really doing something to continue the whole liberal trend.

MR. WAGNER. I, too, know a number of legislators in New York who were elected to Congress purely because no one else wanted the nomination. They thought they didn't have a chance and they might as well give it to this young fellow, a good-appearing young man who has a good record, and so on. They thought the cause looked hopeless. Now they are there and they ought to get all the support, in New York as well as other places, that they will need. The labor organizations, the CIO, AFL, Mr. Whitney's union and the others, did a real job in getting the vote out for those people. I heard of one instance in Pennsylvania where they had never elected a Democrat, even in the great Roosevelt landslides, but when the labor organizations got to work, they assigned two men to every district and they had a car to take them down to vote, and they won this year although the state went for Dewey.

MR. BIEMILLER. I want to talk a little on the question of candidates. This has become almost a fetish with me in the last few years. We had better start finding candidates who make sense to the voters. In marginal districts you need hard-hitting liberals if you want support from the labor unions who are ready to do election work if you expect to win. They are not going to work if you just name Joe Jones. They are not going to do it, and you had better start studying the districts and find out who in that district will be the best person to rally your people around. Today as never before personalities play an important role in politics.

MRS. DOUGLAS. I think the most important part of a campaign is the candidate—someone whom the voters can campaign for with enthusiasm. In the recent election in many instances we lost marginal districts because of poor candidates.

More study and thought should go into the choice of candidates. Long before the primaries there should be consultation on the matter. Local Democratic leaders should sit down with the representatives of labor and civic groups in an effort to select candidates they can all support.

I believe that one of the reasons we made such a good showing in the country this time was that we had people running for office whom the rest of the country knew and respected. It was heartening to California to know that Andy Biemiller was going to run again. It was heartening to California to know that Mayor Humphrey was a candidate for the Senate. It was heartening to know that Mr. Douglas was running in Illinois, and that held throughout.

MR. TYLER. The job that we have to begin to think about for the next few years is the business of teaching trade unionists, when they are organized on a geographic level, to make the decisive act, namely, nominating the candidates. Participating in primaries is the really tough spot. There no one of the liberal organizations has yet done a genuine job. I think at that level the old-line machine really still dominates.

MR. KEENAN. There is another thing. I do not think labor is generally concerned about running for public office. Of course, you have the fellows who get the bug and want to be candidates, but, generally speaking, labor is satisfied to sit back and tend to its labor and get out and support the candidates who will carry out its program. If we do not have such candidates, then of course the next thing is to get some of our own fellows whom we can elect, who will carry out our program.

Liberals and the Democratic Party

SHOULD LABOR and liberal groups function as pressure groups on the outside of political parties or should they seek to make one of the parties, namely the Democratic Party, their own?

MR. STRAIGHT. We have outlined practically all the tasks here. The techniques and full agreement on whether the Democratic Party is the party in which this coalition is going to be solidified, crystallized permanently, and whether the coalition requires an independent existence to maintain its liaison as a liberal force as long as the Democratic Party is not entirely liberal, are probably the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two key problems that we ought to spend the rest of the afternoon on.

MR. RAUH. We in the ADA look at the Democratic Party realistically. It is our conviction that it can only survive as a liberal party. Yet there have been times when we have had very real doubts as to whether it was going to remain a liberal party. Indeed, the historic civil-rights fight at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia last July was as close and breath-taking a fight as was ever made. But it was won and this victory for civil rights destroyed the reactionary Southerners' claim that the party follows their policies. As a result the way was opened to make the Democratic Party liberal on a national scale.

We feel that the pressure on the Democratic Party to become more and more a great liberal party must be both from within and without its ranks. For example, in California the party is predominantly liberal. But there are many other places where it is not. In Michigan a great advance was recently made when the liberal-labor forces virtually gained control of the Democratic organization in that state. In Minnesota, the controlling left-wing forces were routed by the ADA caucus led by Senator Hubert Humphrey. Our task is to see that this pattern is followed in other states where the extreme right or the extreme left wings are a threat to a genuinely liberal Democratic Party. But, in addition, we must continue to build an independent political organization working with labor, farm and other groups to act as the liberal watchdog for both parties.

I do not think we should assume, either, that the fight has been wholly won in the Administration. The 1950 elections are going to be a serious matter unless the liberal program promised the voters is implemented not only by Congress but also by the Administration. For example, even assuming we get housing legislation by summer, the real question is whether we have houses by October, 1950. That depends largely on the amount of energy and drive put into the housing program. It will take tough and effective administration to implement a housing bill with the necessary speed. And housing is easier than civil rights or compulsory health insurance or providing enough steel. The liberal-labor coalition cannot relax its vigilance. It must continue to demand that the Administration execute its part of the tremendous job speedily. Otherwise prospects for the success of a liberal Democratic Party will decline sharply.

Most of our leaders in the ADA are active members of the Democratic Party; some—we wish there were more—work within Republican ranks. We shall support New Deal and Fair Deal Republicans just as Franklin Roosevelt supported George Norris. But, on a national scale, the Democratic Party offers the best hope as a vehicle for liberalism. Whether it fulfils that hope depends on whether strong independent groups, such as labor unions and the ADA and the other forward-looking groups stand together in their efforts to achieve this objective. We want to help in this fight by coöperating on both national and local levels. In some local situations we have been able to get different groups to work together that had never coöperated before. We want to strengthen this coalition; to make certain that the platform that the people voted for becomes the law of the land.

MR. LASH. I would like to say a word about coalition politics. I do not disagree with what Joe Rauh said about the importance of labor and liberal groups keeping up their pressure on the Democratic Party, but it does not seem to me that, basically, this is the way to transform the Democratic Party into a national consistently liberal party. The trouble with coalition politics is that, like courtship, it is too unstable. Every time you call up the girl and want to date her, you have the problem: Will she be there? Will she go out with me tonight? What will I have to give her in order to get her to go out with me?

It is about time that the liberal groups and labor groups married the girl. They have been going out with the Democratic Party long enough! The labor groups have shop organizations, but much more important in terms of transforming the Democratic Party is geographic precinct organization. If the trade unions were to be concerned with sending their people into the local Democratic clubs, that would be the best way they could help transform the Democratic Party, and until that is done you have simply coalition politics with all the consequent instabilities such as we had during the past 14 to 16 years even under FDR.

It seems to me that is the point that has to be gotten across by the unions, by the Negro groups, by every group that is working with the Democratic Party and which I think now realize that the hoped-for liberalism is through the Democratic Party.

MR. WHITNEY. Let me remind you that the Democratic Party is in control. We have no other party to look to at the moment except the Democratic Party. I think we should undertake to build the Democratic Party, if that is humanly possible, as the liberal party, and should not go along with some of the things some Democrats may want to do during the next four years. The Democratic Party, like all human agencies, is weak because it is human, and it needs supervision, and we, the liberal people of the country, the people who have an interest in the future and in our posterity, should carry on that supervision.

I am not going to support Truman and the Democratic Party in their views in every little thing that I might disagree with, merely because I voted for them, and I am not going to fall out with them, but we ought to do everything we can to avoid flirting with any so-called third parties.

The 81st Congress, mind you, will be able, in my

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinion, to take the temperature of the Democratic Party. It has made a pledge to the people and it had better remember that pledge and be faithful to the people, because there are a lot of people keeping books on it.

Labor and the Two Parties

CHAIRMAN STRAIGHT. There has been a problem in the AFL, of course, where in many local situations the unions in predominantly Republican areas have established liaisons and relationships.

MR. KEENAN. You have a tough job of education in the American Federation of Labor because it is old. I think the habits are more deeply rooted. In each state federation of labor, in many cases the official family is in with the political groups and plays their game. Illinois, my home, is a typical example, and in this last campaign quite a number of our state officials were tied up with the Republican Party. When we set up Labor's League for Political Education, we centered our campaign on Brooks and other congressmen. Just as soon as one of these state fellows who was on the payroll started to move against Brooks, he was called in and told he was on the Green payroll and ought to get in line.

You just cannot carry water on both shoulders. We have either got to play our politics for the cause that we stand for and get our people in line, or move them.

That is not only the case in Illinois; it exists all over the country. I do not think the CIO has been in these state organizations long enough to have that development. This policy has come through the years, and we'll have a tough job of getting rid of it.

In many, many cases, we had the state organizations undermining the Labor's League for Political Education, and in many cases, as in West Virginia, we had two or three of our outstanding people in there working their heads off for Revercomb. Everything we did, they tried to undo, and it was the same in many of these other states where we had really bad men who should have been defeated. That is the job we have to do.

CHAIRMAN STRAIGHT. Do you foresee a further development now to get into the primaries, or into the party organization?

MR. KEENAN. Yes, I do. I have to come back to the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party prior to 1932 was a minority party and it was satisfied to take the minority point of view, and in the last two years there were many within it ready to fall back into that position. They had started along the road, and they were on the road a long way. We have to do some needling there. You are going to run into a lot of these fellows who have gotten a new lease on life. They figure this has been a wonderful fall for them, because most of the Democratic Party state organizations throughout the country did not think they had a chance, and when they elected Governors and when they elected county tickets, it was the old story of putting their families back on the payroll. These fellows are no good to us. They will milk the thing for four years and not much will be done.

I say the Democratic Party has to get in and support our program rather than sit back and milk everything it can, as it did in the past. Otherwise, if it does not, these people are bound to drift. I want to see the two-party system remain in the United States, but the Democratic Party has to play its part if that is the party we are going to accept as our vehicle to carry our program.

MR. ROOSEVELT. The problem really falls into two categories: the national and the state or local. I believe that labor ought to decide whether it is going really to make the Democratic Party or help those of us in the Democratic Party keep it the liberal party, or whether it is going to fly off in a few other directions. That is something that, on the local level, we do have to work together on and try to work out a long-range program on.

The Democratic Party itself must recognize that politics has changed, that it is a coalition now. Some of the old types that used to run the party in various cities are no longer the dominant groups, and we ought to reorganize our party structures to include members of the liberal coalition. Those are organizational problems and if you can solve them, or start to, on the local level, it will have a tremendous effect on the party nationally as well.

MR. WAGNER. We have an example of that up in New York State where the labor organizations and the liberal groups got together. In Syracuse, for instance, within the past few weeks the Democratic organization has had to recognize the strength of the labor groups and the ADA and the other liberal groups and give that group a very high position, as a matter of fact, the assistant to the chairman of the county, where he has practically run the show.

MR. KEENAN. The Democratic organization has got to get in step with what is happening around the country. We could have elected another congressman in Cincinnati if we had had the support of the state treasurer of the Democratic Party. In fact, the labor unions and our groups had to work around him. We elected the first Democratic congressman from Cincinnati in, I guess, fifty years. We only lost the other by a couple of thousand votes. These politicians will sit on your doorstep for weeks before the election, but if the election is successful and goes their way, then they walk away and leave you high and dry, and they take all the credit. Somebody has to enlighten the national Democratic Party about this thing or they are going to miss the boat themselves and you are going to shoot this off into a labor party or something else.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. MULLEN. We in the Steelworkers are taking a strong stand on political action, and within the Democratic Party, too. We have one difficulty. We find the Democratic leadership in too many places resentful of us or afraid of us. They do not want any part of us. In Pittsburgh all during the campaign we had a committee composed of AFL and CIO fellows who met with Mayor Lawrence, Commissioner McClandish and others, and took a part in selecting candidates and carrying the fight in the general election. We still find that labor is inclined to be a little boastful, I guess, about the election. Instead of the organization people laughing it off and forgetting it, they make an issue of it right away. There is a current of resentment now on both sides, and it is growing, and it is going to create quite a problem.

The entrenched Democratic organization is afraid that the labor people are trying to take them over, and they are going to do everything they possibly can, of course, to prevent that.

I don't know what my status in the Democratic Party is. I happen to be the chairman of the Democratic Party in my town; I happen to be the Mayor of the town, and also the Director of Political Action for Steel, so I do have an opportunity to meet a lot of these Democratic officials throughout the country, and we find a very definite attitude of resentment toward us. We do not want the party; we want to work with the party, within the party, but somebody, somewhere, as both Mr. Keenan and Mr. Whitney have pointed out, has to wise this leadership up that the liberal groups and labor want to work with them, not take them over. A group such as this could go a long way toward promoting that campaign.

MR. KEENAN. You have only to go back to Europe. It was a set of circumstances such as we had here in 1947 that brought about the labor parties in the other countries. The reactionaries got in, and the labor people felt the only solution was to go into politics and elect candidates in order to impose their point of view. All of us are committed to the free-enterprise system. We like it, but if the Democratic Party does not realize that it has a responsibility, then you are going to have a labor party and everything that goes with it.

MR. ROOSEVELT. You point up a very obvious sore that exists, one that is in the organization of the Democratic Party. How do you attack it? There are two ways. One is actually having members of labor unions going into the clubs at the grass-roots level, not necessarily representing an official labor point of view within that club but as a member of the club, just as you have an insurance salesman or a housewife going into a club. There is no reason why they should not go in as individuals.

The other appeal is through candidates: perhaps I can point up the moral of it by telling the old story about Al Smith. When he was Governor of New York, he was faced with a problem on which he was violently opposed by old man Murphy, who was then head of Tammany Hall, and Smith just would not go along with Murphy. Murphy threatened he would not get the nomination for Governor next time. Smith said, "I will run on a laundry ticket and I will beat you." Murphy had to admit Smith was right.

You can approach it on two levels: (1) having your membership go into local organizations; and (2) having candidates who will see to it that the organization is so reorganized, or revamped, or cleaned, or whatever the particular need is. The candidates can be of great help in curing the sores, whatever the sore is in a specific community.

MRS. DOUGLAS. I would like to discuss this problem as it affects California. We have the direct primary in California. We have tried since 1940 to bring labor into the working organization of the Democratic Party, congressional district by congressional district. We have tried to give labor a voice in our choice of candidates. We have found that the only way to build a liberal movement in California is for labor to work within the Democratic Party.

We must not separate labor from the community.

We must not fence off labor—the working men and women of this country in a separate box—and what is true of labor is true of the farmer and the teacher and other groups in the community.

We must learn to work together and all those who support a party have a right to some voice in the choice of candidates for that party.

The man who works in a steel factory, the teacher who lives next door and the doctor who lives down the street are all part of the community and have as much right to participate in the choice of those who will represent them at a state and national level as a few fellows in the political party machinery.

The Democratic Party is the liberal party. It is our job to strengthen and keep it liberal and to organize support at a local level for those programs that the majority of the American people believe in.

MR. DUDLEY. Let me say this: So far as CIO-PAC is concerned, CIO-PAC must remain non-partisan, first, because we are supporting people on the basis of their record and their merit and if a Republican happened to be better than the Democrat, we would be obligated to support him. If the Republican Party happened to get better than the Democratic Party, that is where we would belong as a matter of principle. The second reason is, we have a lot of people in our membership who still consider themselves Republicans because that is the way they were born.

However, we liberals realize that we end up nearly every time supporting the Democratic platform and the Democratic candidates. It is perfectly apparent that rather than wait until platform and candidates come out, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then support them, or rather than stand across the street and say, "It is up to you Democrats to improve yourselves or we will not support you," it is time for us to be moving into the Democratic house and helping to build it. I personally agree with what Mrs. Douglas has said. It is our party. We cannot say, "It is the fault of the Democrats for not having a decent candidate." If they do not have a decent candidate, it is our fault because we can be in the Democratic house getting a good candidate if we bestir ourselves.

It is very important that our friends seek offices in the Democratic Party and attempt to improve it—its personnel, its organization, and the whole setup. It is important that we let all liberals know that this is what they should be doing as a matter of long-time strategy and development.

Our friends and members should not wait to be asked by the Democrats to come in. Go in! The Democratic Party officers are elected by committees or delegates who are in turn elected by the people. Certainly the candidates are elected either by a convention or an open primary. It has long been CIO policy that our people should participate in both.

We should influence the choice of the officers of the Democratic Party on a state, national, local and even the precinct level. I am absolutely convinced that it can be done successfully. Joe Rauh, the ADA and I did that here in the District of Columbia. In Michigan we have hundreds of CIO members who are precinct committeemen and other officers higher up in the Democratic Party. John Mullen has told you about his own position as Democratic mayor of Clairton, Pennsylvania.

It is important, for example, Gus, that we stop thinking in terms of the Liberal Party as being another liberal party. It should not be another party. Let's forget about it as that. If the Liberal Party wants to work as a nucleus to improve the Democratic Party in New York, fine, but as a Liberal Party along with the Republican Party, it is a wasted effort. Let's forget about the Socialist Party and all the other political groups that we have. Of course, we never considered the Progressive Party and the Dixiecrats as anybody desirable.

It is my personal conviction that the Democratic Party shortly will become the equivalent in this country of the Labor Party in England. The Democratic National Committee should become a strong committee. It should run the Democratic Party and should have liberal people on it from every state. It should not meet a couple of times a year as a sort of routine function. It should meet to direct the affairs of the Democratic Party. It should have an influence on what the congressmen do. It should have an influence on what its leader in the White House does. That committee should be important in formulating the long-time policy.

We should also be concerned with the setup of the Democratic national office here in Washington. I refer to its whole staff. Who should be the committee chairman? Who should be the heads of the various departments? How much money should they have; what kind of personnel practices; and so forth?

No Blank Check

MR. TYLER. First of all, to use Joe Lash's analogy, a large section of labor is of the conviction that the girl friend displays her finest aspects during the period of courtship, and that after the marriage she might not be so sweet. That is one aspect of it. Second, there is a great hesitancy to rush into a marriage with the object of reforming the mate. That is always a very, very dangerous business. There are good reasons why labor does not wish to marry any one party today.

First, labor does not wish to tie its future up irrevocably with the still amorphous Democratic Party. A considerable section of labor believes that if the Democratic Party does not deliver—in terms of legislative performance—then there will be a worthwhile movement in the direction of a new party.

Second, labor is most effective in campaigning if it comes to its members as a non-party organization urging its followers to vote and electioneer on *issues* rather than persons or parties. It is just downright impossible for any union in America to come to its members and *order* them to vote for any party as a party, especially if the rank-and-filers have other traditional loyalties. It is possible for trade unions to weaken the traditional ties of many workers by talking about an issue or of some man as an effective fighter for a plank. Coming to its members and their families as a non-partisan organization, labor can establish a new voting habit with American workers; namely, the habit of voting for ideas. The particular party allegiance that will develop out of this habit is still unpredictable; but the formation of the habit is basic not only for the creation of a solid labor vote but for the foundation of intelligent voting and government in America.

Third, it is strategically unwise for labor to "marry" the Democratic Party in such a way at this moment as to make impossible even an occasional date with the dowager GOP. CIO-PAC, for instance, participated actively in the Iowa Republican primary—and was proud of the result. In Vermont and North Dakota, participation in the Republican primary has made as much sense as has work in the Democratic Party primary in Tennessee. The course of labor action at this hour must realistically be determined by the prevailing tradition of party affiliations as well as by the program labor seeks.

Finally, it seems to me that what American liberalism is headed for is a "new party." I do not necessarily mean a "third party," since a new party may well be predominantly composed of sections of an existing party and may even carry the name of an existing party. I mean a new party in the sense that it is based on liberal program

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and liberal precinct machinery. Such a new party must and can and will draw elements from many political sectors: Democratic Party, Republican Party, and unaffiliated voters. For organized labor to don an old-party label, at this moment, would greatly reduce the effectiveness of this new political force as a means for uniting a tremendous population group around a platform and ultimately providing a new, fresh, vigorous element for a truly liberal party in America.

Please note that this is no argument against a continued courtship between labor and the Democratic Party in most parts of the country. Nor does this policy exclude flirtations with the GOP in some spots. Nor does this policy exclude eventual marriage, provided—in my opinion—that the liberal-laborites wear the pants. I am arguing against a marriage in haste!

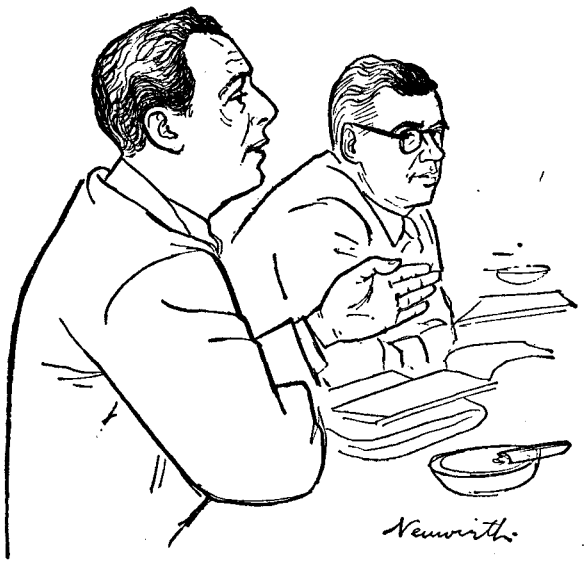
MR. DUDLEY. Gus, I agree with what you and Mr. Whitney have said and I do not mean to imply that by working within the Democratic Party we are bound to agree with everything they do—not at all. We work with them and if we do not get what we want, we can still criticize them on the outside. By no means should we give up any liberty in that regard. That is one reason why, for example, we in the CIO are insistent upon maintaining our own organization, not giving over our ward and precinct organization to somebody else. We need it for primary fights, and it is possible, although not probable, that the situation might become such that we would need to pull out.

We maintain our own organization for this bargaining power of a pressure group that you spoke about; we retain the power to criticize that you speak about, but we should also work affirmatively to try to improve the Democratic Party.

MR. WHITNEY. The president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen makes no political endorsement unless he is authorized to do so by the membership. We held three legislative conferences in 1948 in the city of Cleveland. Every state was represented. Every delegate from every state, if they took an action, said, "We have endorsed Mr. Truman, or we have endorsed So-and-So."

In Iowa they said they had endorsed Gillette for the Senate. After we got a report from these people and we knew what the attitude of the membership was, we gave him our national endorsement. I think that we were pretty close to the pulse of the BRT membership throughout the United States.

I want to say further that every representative that we had at those conferences from the South endorsed the Democratic ticket and Mr. Truman and Mr. Barkley.



". . . labor does not wish to tie its future . . ." TYLER, RAUH

The Dixiecrat Problem

THE PROSPECT of liberalizing the Democratic Party in the South and the role of the Negro voter in the South rounded out the discussion of relations between liberals and the Democratic organization. The consensus was that the Democratic Party had to be liberal all the way through.

CHAIRMAN STRAIGHT. You have the special problem of the Democrats and the Dixiecrats.

DR. COLLINS. Yes, we do have that. That is a very special problem. If you want some statement on that, I think perhaps if you have not read them, there are two books that would help anyone to understand this Dixiecrat problem. The more or less liberal side is given by W. J. Cash, in *The Mind of the South*, and the Dixiecrat side is given by Charles Wallace Collins (who is no kin of mine) in *Whither Solid South?*

All this cry about states' rights, as far as we can tell from having dealt with it first-hand, is smokescreen, camouflage. There has never been any effort on the part of those who have cried for states' rights to accept state responsibilities and the state's right to do right. There has never been any effort to assume the obligations of power. Most of us believe that the Dixiecrat movement is several things. First of all, it is the culmination of a coalition between Southern Democrats and the Republican Party. It is, in the second place, an effort on the part of the vested political interest to maintain the status quo in employer-employee relations and in other areas, and it is using the same old appeal to race prejudice in order to maintain these things.

The people of the South, as I know them—and I can speak for not just South Carolina but several states in the South—have a very strong prejudice against what we call civil rights. You can take these people one by one and ask them, "How do you feel about civil rights?" and they are almost 100 percent against it, but if you say,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Do you think the Negro should have a right to vote?" they will say. "Sure, he has a right to vote."

"Do you think we ought to give the Negro educational opportunities?"

"Certainly, everybody ought to have an education."

And you can go on down the list. "What do you think about the poll tax?"

"We ought to get rid of it."

"What do you think about lynching?"

"It is a disgrace; we ought to stop it."

It is what I was trying to say this morning, that we are confronted with the psychological connotation of a phrase rather than an antagonistic attitude toward these specific things, and it is artificially stimulated to a considerable degree. One thing that I definitely want to go into this record is the fact that even among the liberal Southerners there is a strong resentment against what we think of as "outside interference" with our problems. We much prefer to settle these things ourselves, but recognize that if the states do not settle them, the nation as a whole must uphold the Constitution and protect all human beings.

CHAIRMAN STRAIGHT. May I ask you one question? Mrs. Douglas mentioned that we would stand as a national movement on the program and the record which is made in the 81st Congress, and she had in mind a certain minimum performance and achievement which will hold the great mass of liberal voters in the North, and you indicated this morning that that minimum record of achievement might be beyond your capacity to defend as liberals within the same party in the South. Is it possible, in your opinion, that on the basis of this program this coalition cannot be held together?

DR. COLLINS. You must think primarily of the welfare of the nation rather than of getting votes from a few selected Southern states, and I believe that the South will be enormously benefited if this program can be put over now and our people can see that the world does not come to an end even if we have an FEPC law.

MR. BAKER. As I analyze it, what we need to do is to have a grass-roots movement, a liberal movement in the South, and the Democratic Party is the logical party to undertake it.

The liberals in the nation want a liberal Democratic Party in the South. Regardless of whether it is a minority party or not, the Democratic Party must stand for liberal principles in the North, East, South and West. It can no longer afford to be liberal in one section of the country and reactionary in another. It cannot blow hot and cold at the same time. I say that we cannot go along with any party that is one part Dr. Jekyll and the other part Mr. Hyde. We have to be liberal all the way through, and the South has to be included in that, even if we represent only five or ten percent of the people. The people in the South are beginning to wake up. They realize that our security depends upon the freedom of all of our people. For only as a nation united can we bring about peace and prosperity.

MR. DUDLEY. I might say in this connection that there will be a meeting of the Democratic National Committee some time in the next couple of months. Several members of this committee opposed the Democratic Party in this last campaign. We certainly should do everything possible in that meeting to expel from that committee the people who opposed the party. I refer to the Dixiecrats, of course. Strom Thurmond is a member of the National Committee and he never resigned. The National Committeewoman from South Carolina is a high official in the Dixiecrat party, which was, of course, opposed to us just as the Republicans were. The same is true in Mississippi. It is true of the National Committeemen in Texas, Louisiana and Alabama.

As a matter of fact, we in the CIO prepared a report on the Democratic congressmen who actively opposed the Democratic Party in the last election. It consisted of Senator Taylor and Senator Eastland and eleven or twelve Representatives. It is our feeling that those people are not Democrats any longer, and I hope that, at least in our part of the public press, we will not refer to him as Hébert (D), for example; we will refer to him as Hébert (SR), because he is a member of the States' Rights Party and you cannot be a dealer on both sides at the same time.

I might say that the Democratic National Committee itself has the authority, with precedent already established, to expel at the next meeting of the committee those members who opposed it in the last fight. And they should be expelled.

"All this cry about states' rights . . ." COLLINS, BAKER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Negro Political Action

MR. PERRY. In connection with this part of the meeting, I want to make it crystal clear that as a staff member of the NAACP, I do not and cannot endorse *any* political party, nor can I work or plan for strengthening or unifying any party. However, you have asked for certain factual information which I am glad to give you.

The Negro in the South, living as he does in states under one-party control, is not going to throw his vote away by supporting minority and splinter parties. He fought to get into the Democratic Party down there and he is going to make his vote in it felt. In the 1948 elections, about 750,000 Negroes registered, qualified and voted in the Democratic primaries and in the general elections. Thirty-five thousand of them braved intimidation, force, violence and even death, to vote in the South Carolina primaries last summer. About 125,000 voted in Texas. Between 125,000 and 150,000 voted in Georgia. In varying numbers they voted in all the Southern states.

And the important thing is that they used their ballots wisely and well. In every one of those states they voted almost solidly for the most liberal candidate. Senator Lyndon Johnson, who won by 87 votes—one of the smallest majorities in any senatorial race in the history of this country—would not have been elected except for the almost solid Negro vote he received. Senator Russell Long told me that he got 90 percent of the 20,000 Negro votes in Louisiana. On the other hand, Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia complained over a national broadcasting network last December about Negro "bloc voting." Talmadge said that he did not get more than 50 Negro votes.

Negro leaders in the South are working to get one million Negro voters registered and qualified by 1950. NAACP branches throughout the South are conducting voters' schools. They are teaching prospective voters how to register, pay their poll taxes, and answer questions required by the so-called literacy tests.

There is a real potential down there. I think organized labor and other progressive groups in the South would be well advised to give this potential Negro voter every aid and coöperation. This would include helping to beat back disfranchising and repressive voting legislation such as that currently being proposed in the Georgia legislature. The rising Negro electorate in the South represents the kind of courageous grass-roots support we talk so much about around Washington. In it organized labor will find a very real ally in cutting down materially the reactionary Southern representation in the Congress.

The other thing I would like to call attention to is the Negro voter in the North. I went to 24 or 25 cities during the months of September and October and I spoke to audiences totaling approximately 20,000, most of whom were Negroes. I spoke on Congress because I was supposedly well-informed on what was happening in Washington, where I have a close-up view. But as I spoke to these audiences (and they were the rank and file, ordinary people), I never got the feeling that I was telling them anything they did not already know about where their Senators and Representatives stood on the basic bread-and-butter issues, or civil rights. As the election returns show, they knew the legislators who were for them and those who were basically against them.

I say there is arising in the North and in the South a large, independent, intelligent, unpurchasable Negro vote which, I repeat, liberals would be well-advised to encourage.

DR. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, may I add just a word about the specific situation in South Carolina? This deliberate attempt to use race prejudice for political advancement of certain individuals or groups resulted in this plan which we were advised of in South Carolina to send a delegation to the National Convention, then have our delegates walk out and let the Negro Progressive Democratic Party be seated, then come back to South Carolina and say, "The Democratic Party is now the Negro Party." That was the first step in this states'-rights revolt.

To offset that, we consulted with the national leadership and we sent a delegation to contest the South Carolina delegates' seating, not with any hope of being seated or any desire to be seated, particularly, but primarily to frustrate this attempt to create a definite line of party cleavage racially. We succeeded in that, because while Governor Thurmond wanted the group to walk out, others would not let them because we had the group there and they saw they would gain nothing if a mixed group of whites and Negroes were seated.

MR. BAKER. I believe that if we can have the coöperation of the stronger liberal elements in the rest of the country, the South, within a period of time, will be able to stand on its own two feet as a liberal section of the country; but I do once again want to put in this word of warning, that I think before we take any drastic steps on certain of the proposals in the civil-rights legislation, liberal Southerners should be consulted and their viewpoints aired, because, as I expressed it earlier, we should not take a chance of destroying what we have gained by moving too fast.

MR. ROOSEVELT. We do have to accelerate tremendously an educational program on this civil-rights problem for the South. How do we do that? Obviously, the one major group whom you are asking for coöperation from other parts of the country is the labor group, and I think in some cases the labor groups have fallen down on the very problem of civil rights in the South.

¶ Mr. Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was unable at the last moment to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attend the conference but submitted his comments for inclusion in the final report.

MR. POTOFSKY. The national elections last November demonstrated to all, except those blind with prejudice, that the American labor movement has come of age politically and is making its influence felt as an important section of the community.

The CIO Political Action Committee supported 198 candidates for the House, the Senate and for gubernatorial posts, who waged successful contests. I am not suggesting that everyone we supported emerged victorious, but when you add the holdovers whom the CIO-PAC had supported in previous years, they make an impressive total of men and women in public office who hold liberal views, are concerned with the welfare of labor, and can be supported by all liberal elements in good conscience.

The CIO was not alone in demonstrating its political strength. The American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods, together with the CIO, on nearly every ward, precinct, county, state and congressional level, joined forces to defeat those who hated labor and to elect men and women who do not regard trade unionists as Class B citizens.

The November elections demonstrated that the New Deal and the Fair Deal are also here to stay. They are now definitely a part of the American way of life. There will be no going back to the industrial jungle, the fears and the insecurity which existed in this country prior to 1933.

There will be an extension of the social and labor legislation which gave many American workers status and security for the first time. I am sure that social-security benefits will be increased and their coverage extended to millions of additional men and women. Health and welfare plans will be adopted. The Taft-Hartley Act will be repealed and the Wagner Act restored.

Civil rights will be extended so that ultimately they will reach into every corner of our land and we shall become truly a Union of 48 states.

Minimum wages will be increased to realistic levels so as to meet the needs of our workers. These will help eliminate substandard levels in various parts of the country and in certain sections of American industry. These will serve to increase our standard of living, improve mass purchasing power and keep our production high.

As a result of the clear-cut mandates issued by the electorate to the Administration and the 81st Congress, there will be government planning for real housing for the masses. Farmers will continue to receive government support to avoid the foreclosures and disasters of the 1920's. We are moving more and more into the "era of the Middle Road," so aptly described by Justice Douglas.

We are witnessing the evolution of a combination of forces which speak well for the future of America. The coalition of the farmer, labor and the small businessman spell a completely new orientation in the political life of America.

The political prognosticators were disturbed when they discovered farmers and industrial workers supporting the same candidates for office. Accustomed to the artificial political divisions of the past between farm and city, they did not understand what we had seen clearly for a great many years, namely, that the interests of the farmers and workers are inseparable, and that what is good for one is good for the other, and for the nation.

I am convinced that President Truman and the 81st Congress will give effective leadership to the new movement which ought to herald prosperity and security for the great masses of Americans.

American labor has made its contribution to this great possibility and will never relax its vigilance and determination to make this American dream come true.

III. CONCLUSION

AS THIS REPORT on the status of the Fair Deal goes to press, the fight for the Truman legislative program is in full swing. The stunned response to President Truman's election has worn off. Reaction has recovered its courage.

Labor legislation, particularly repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, has been engulfed by protracted hearings in the course of which the basic issues have been partially obscured.

The civil-rights program has been tied to a preliminary fight for a two-thirds cloture rule whose passage neither assures substantive civil rights nor represents a real limitation on debate beyond what is already possible through a ruling of the chair.

The utility interests are working night and day against the expansion of the TVA principle.

The AMA is raising a war chest of $3.5 million to be used against health insurance.

The big-business associations have denounced the Truman program as "creeping socialism."

The battle is on. The Truman Administration will fight. The biggest danger arises from a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. But the Southerners no longer feel that they are completely beyond the reach of the voter. And the Republicans are rent by bitter feuds between conservatives and liberals. For every Southern Demo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crat who joins the Republicans there can be a liberal Republican who will support the Administration provided—

that the political-action machinery described in the latter part of this report now becomes the instrument for a vast mobilization of public opinion to ensure that the mandate of 1948 is honored by the 81st Congress.

The Republicans rode high in the 80th Congress but the valiant rear-guard action fought by the Truman Administration paved the way for the Republican debacle in November. The liberal and labor forces are much stronger now. They can either get the Truman program enacted or put up a fight that will fix the issues for 1950.

That is the immediate task confronting the coalition which achieved victory in 1948. In the course of accomplishing that task the machinery of political action will be strengthened. The trend of the Democratic Party toward a consistent liberalism will be accelerated. And the stage will be set for 1950.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN MONTHS AHEAD...

Accurate Reporting and Keen Analysis of the Washington Scene Are More Essential To You THAN EVER BEFORE—

HOW else will you keep abreast of the behind-the-scenes progress or delay in fulfilling the promises of the Truman Administration?

Once the machinery of the Fair Deal gets into high gear you will want to turn to the *New Republic for all you need know about legislation on . . .*

- repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act
- anti-inflation measures
- foreign aid
- broader social security coverage
- Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act
- housing
- tax revision
- minimum wage standard
- a national health program
- aid to education
- price supports
- repeal of oleomargarine taxes
- extension of rent control
- and many other subjects of vital concern to every citizen

Here is proof of the *New Republic's* ability to give you the *insight* and *perspective* you need in months ahead:

. . . One day after President Truman's State of the Union message, the *New Republic scooped the press and further advanced the Administration's policy* by publishing the special supplement, "State of the Union: A Program for Liberal America." Jack Kroll, Director of CIO-PAC, called it *"a magnificent job."* Thousands of reprints were ordered by schools, labor unions, clubs, discussion groups.

. . . In his Washington Wire, the famous T. R. B. brings you, according to an Illinois subscriber, *"the best single, all-round continuous job of reporting 'significant' news coming out of Washington."*

. . . The *New Republic* employs the largest Washington staff ever employed by a liberal magazine to analyze the intricate moves and countermoves which are part of the federal scene.

. . . Abraham J. Multer, Representative from New York, evaluates the *New Republic* as *"MUST reading for all members of Congress."*

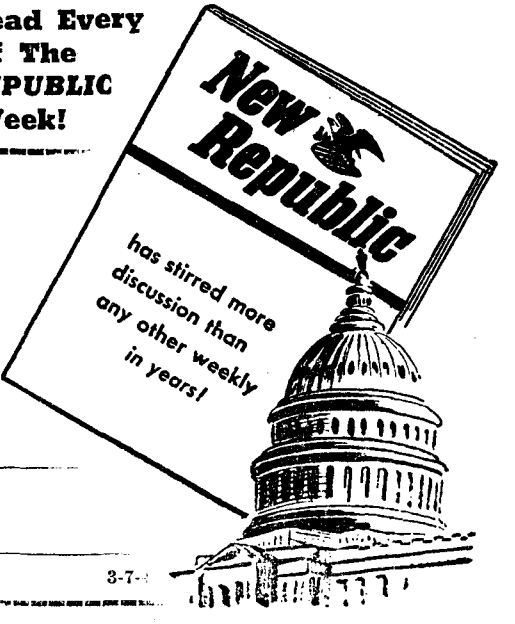
* * *

The country's hub, to be sure! But look to the *New Republic* for authoritative reporting, analysis and forecast of *every important activity along America's social, economic and political front.* And for mature criticism of books, music, movies, theatre, radio.

Under the editorship of Michael Straight, the *New Republic reports and interprets events from the liberal point of view.* If this means disagreeing with restrictions on Russian cultural life, which Joseph P. Lash did in a brilliant series now available as a 25¢ pamphlet, *we say so.* If it means pointing out that President Truman's inaugural address appears to call this country to a holy crusade against Russia which could have no conclusion except war—*we pull no punches.*

DO YOU BELIEVE in this sort of forthright, independent, journalism which the Chicago *Sun* calls "a powerful force in American Life"?

Then Read Every Word of The *NEW REPUBLIC* Every Week!



NEW REPUBLIC • 40 East 49th Sreet • New York 17, N. Y.

☐ Enter my subscription for two years for $10 OR ☐ one year for $6. ☐ I enclose payment OR ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

3-7-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED